DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 298 047 SO 019 252

AUTHOR	Rutkowski, Edward, Ed.
TITLE	Papers and Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Midwest History of Education Society (18th, Chicago, Illinois, October 29-30, 1982).
INSTITUTION	Midwest History of Education Society, Cedar Falls, IA.
PUB DATE	83
NOTE	195p.; Several pages and the art reproductions may not reproduce well. For related documents, see SO 019 242-257.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Collected Works - Serials (022)
JOURNAL CIT	Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society; v11 1983
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC08 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Art History; *Bilingual Education; Blacks; Catholic Schools; Civil Liberties; Cognitive Ability; *Creationism; Educational Development; *Educational History; Educational Practices; Educational Research; Females; *Public Schools; Racial Bias; Religion; Teaching (Occupation); *Unions
IDENTIFIERS	Art Criticism; *Depression (Economic 1929); *Urban League

ABSTRACT

The papers of this proceedings are organized into four parts : religion and education; the politics of urban education; issues in minority education; and concepts of childhood. The first paper in part 1 "I will Declare What He Hath Done for My Soul: Female Conversion Narratives in the Early Nineteenth Century" (V. L. Brereton) explores the conversion experience that led women into teaching and missionary work. "By the Bowels of God's Mercy: Protestant and Catholic Responses to Educational Development in Cincinnati, 1830-55" (F. M. Perko) describes the Catholic and Protestant influences on the common schools and the Catholic progression towards parochial schools. "Creationism vs. Evolution: Challenge to Educators" (F. Parker) relates the history of the Creationists' activities. Part 2, "Out of the Cloister of the Classroom: Political Activity and the Teachers of Detroit, 1929-39" (J. Mirel), describes the political issues of the Depression era that caused teachers to unionize. Part 3 "A History of the Social and Educational Programs of the Urban League of Pittsburgh, 1918-1932" (W. E. Bickel and D. T. Martin) contains the history of the Urban League of Pittsburgh's organization. "The Educating of Minority Children: Nothing New under the Sun?" (T. Reagan) outlines the arguments against native language instruction addressed in Dr. Charles Orpen's booklet that was published in Ireland in 1821. "Social Darwinism, Race, and Research" (F. P. Besag) presents the point of view that the originators of educational research were racists who stressed the cognitive differences between groups rather than their similarities. Part 4, "'Real Children' in Ancient Greek and Roman Art" (J. J. Chambliss), describes artworks that show that children were not always represented with adult features. The program, the business meeting's minutes, and the directory of attendance are included. (DJC)

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Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society

Volume 11, 1983

Papers and proceedings of the 18th meeting

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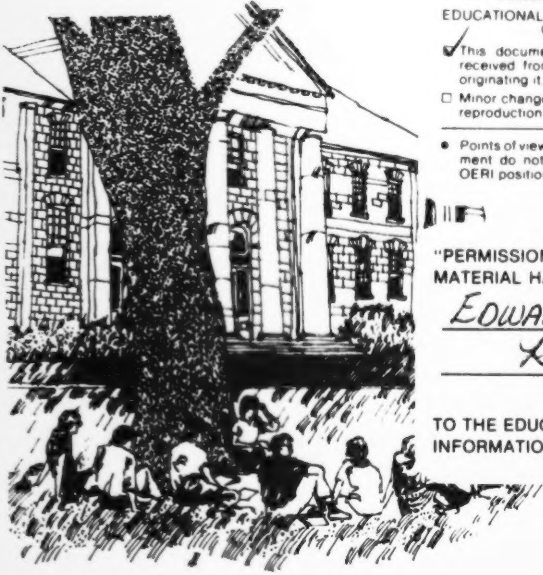

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Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society
Education Center, Room 513
University of Northern Iowa
Cedar Falls, Iowa 50614

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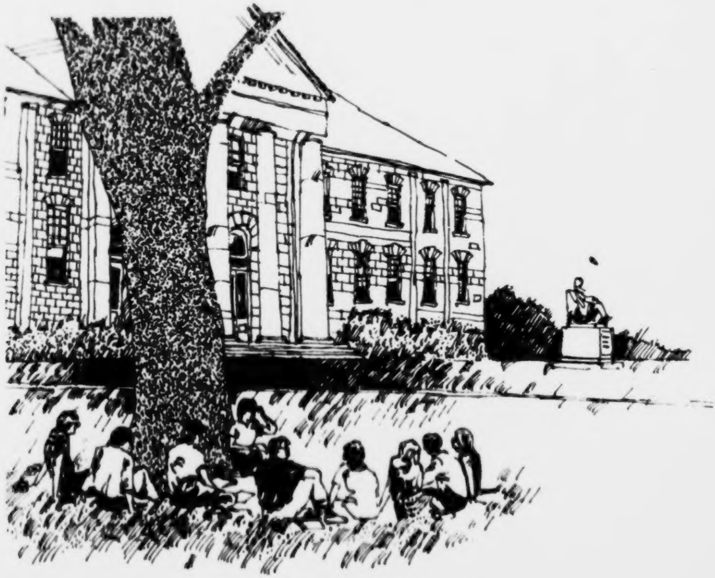

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PART I

Religion and Education

"I WILL DECLARE WHAT HE HATH DONE FOR MY SOUL": FEMALE CONVERSION NARRATIVES IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

Virginia Lieson Brereton
University of Michigan

During the second third of the nineteenth century, as historians of education well know, women entered the ranks of common school teachers in such great numbers as to propel themselves into the majority where before men had dominated. At about the same time unmarried women ventured into the foreign missionary fields for the first time; the assumption of missionary boards, that only married women should go, and then mostly as helpmates to their missionary husbands, had given way to the realization that the cause required the dedication and competence of single women missionaries. Once in Asia or Africa most female missionaries became teachers. In a short time, then, women had come to dominate the field of teaching at home and abroad, on elementary levels at least.

This virtual identification of women with certain areas of teaching by, say 1860, is remarkable in view of the fact that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the vast majority of American women who observed social and cultural norms had seen themselves as private not public persons, and had stayed close to home, hearth, and church. Still, the basis for their entry into the teaching profession later on in the century had already existed. For, whatever the arguments put forth for women's weakness, dependence, and intellectual inferiority, women possessed several sources of potentially "prodigious influence."[1] For one thing, they were widely considered to be more "religious" than men. Protestant women attended churches in greater numbers and were converted more often.[2] Men who got "new hearts" typically ascribed them to the urgings of devout wives or mothers or sisters. Furthermore, as members of the more "religious" sex, and as beings isolated from the rough and tumble world of business and industry, women were reputed to be more virtuous than men. Finally, since women were moral and religious exemplars (as well as mothers) they were assumed to make the best teachers, especially in the areas of religion and morality.

All this influence tended to justify and even necessitate women's emergence as teachers to the new nation during the nineteenth century. Indeed, in addition to entering public school and missionary teaching, women went public in other ways; they began speaking out in public assemblies and appearing in print, activities that had formerly been closed to them. In the opening decades of the nineteenth century they assumed important roles in the new business of novel writing and contributed heavily to the hundred or so new magazines for women that appeared between 1784 and 1860.[3] And in growing numbers they contributed to the literary output of American Protestantism; they authored hymns, wrote devotional verse, filled missionary periodicals with descriptions of missionary lands and pleas for money and personnel, and wrote novels with religious themes.

All this is fairly familiar to students of women's history and of American Protestantism. Historians have paid a good deal of attention in recent decades to the ways in which nineteenth century women augmented their influence and adopted public roles as teachers of one kind or another.[4] But few writers have taken note of another important vehicle by means of which women emerged into prominence as teachers to the nation — the conversion narrative. Hundreds of women wrote such narratives; they were printed by the thousands and read by countless others; yet no one has studied in any depth what effect they had on their audiences or on the women who wrote them.

Women recited these stories of how they had abandoned sin and turned toward God in prayer meetings and published them in magazines, newspapers, books, and pamphlets, for the express purpose of inspiring others to do likewise. Or sometimes they were written in the third person; an author or editor put together a narrative from a convert's letters and journals, often after her death. Many conversion narratives remained out of sight in private journals, diaries, and letters, until some of these eventually found their way into print.

When I speak of a "conversion narrative," I purposely choose a label that suggests the existence of a literary type of surprising uniformity. For, whoever wrote them, wherever they appeared, and however long or short they might be — they varied from a few sentences to book length — they usually followed a set form. The convert started out by describing an early period of spiritual indifference, went on to speak of a time of intense remorse and sense of sinfulness, climaxed with the conversion itself, and continued to detail the fruits of conversion — usually zealous involvement in Christian work of some kind. If it was long enough, the narrative often reported periods of doubt, backsliding, and religious lassitude, alternating with renewed spiritual vigor, both of which commonly followed conversion. Most narratives contained many of the same repeated phrases, and quoted heavily from scripture, with or without acknowledgment and quotation marks. To some extent the narratives seemed interchangeable; personal peculiarities were not considered very important.

Both males and females wrote conversion narratives, and the narratives of the two sexes had much in common. However, women's narratives were generally more intense and more emotional, as I think Barbara Epstein has correctly observed, and they served a slightly different purpose for the women than for the men.

The nineteenth-century conversion narratives, male and female, demonstrated remarkable continuity with the Puritan confessions of seventeenth and eighteenth century New England, both in form and phrasing.[5] Both Puritan and nineteenth-century narratives also shared many elements in common with such classics as John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*. In addition, a series of English conversion manuals dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries instructed nineteenth century evangelicals in this particular pattern of piety known as conversion. Three of the most popular were widely available in the United States in the nineteenth century: Richard Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted* (1657); Matthew Mead's *The Almost Christian Discovered* (1662); and especially Philip Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* (1745). For women in particular there were some autobiographies that contained conversion narratives, for instance, those of Madame Guyon and Hester Ann Rogers.[6] Though Guyon was a French Catholic of the seventeenth century and Rogers an English Methodist born in 1756, their stories shared enough of the same content and language to instruct American women in the experience of conversion.

Beginning with Augustine's *Confessions*, one of the purposes of conversion accounts had been to teach by means of inspiring example. Narrators intended to encourage their readers to undergo the same experience. Conversion was often envisioned as a pilgrimage, and one objective of the narrative was to point out the sign posts along the way. American women who published conversion narratives (or had any idea they *might* be published) had similar pedagogical and inspirational purposes in mind. Many took to heart the sort of instruction that appeared on Hester Rogers' title page: "Come and hear, all ye that fear God, and I will declare what he hath done for my soul." (Psalm 66:16) Probably many were familiar with Jonathan Edwards' observation that "There is no one thing that I know of which God has made such a means of promoting his work among us, as the news of others' conversions."[8]

The teaching purpose behind women's conversion narratives often showed up in the fact that they published their stories despite the lingering stigma attached to women's writings appearing in print. Some women were explicit about their objectives. One, writing in 1803, explained,

> I think, . . . that however unworthy I may be of such honour, I wish to invite and exhort all who know not these things by happy experience, that they will try the experiment for themselves. . . . O, my friends, I long for your happiness: I long to see you rejoice in hope of the glory of God; yea, I long to see the saints on earth join their rejoicing songs of praise to God, with the seraphic angels in heaven, at the news of the return of one more prodigal. Come then, O sinner! come and be happy; for why will ye die?

> That God in whom you live, move, and have your being, tells you plainly that he delighteth not in the death of him that dieth; but that he turn and live, saying, Turn ye, turn ye, for why will ye die?[9]

Another woman, publishing her autobiography in 1826, anticipated the criticism that her venture into print was too "exposed," to "publick," and attempted to ward off social censure by protesting her high purpose: "Grace says, 'Let God be praised, poor sinners saved.' Nature says, 'O shame on such publicity in a female.' "[10] An unnamed woman collected the journals and letters of one "missionary daughter" with the hope that her "example" would "inculcate" new lessons of meakness, humility, and loveliness of deportment" and "impress upon the minds" of the "youth of our land, the importance and blessedness of early piety."[11]

The typical narrative began with the writer's childhood. Most candidates had grown up in Christian households, surrounded by religious influences. Often they recalled a devout parent, most often a mother but in some cases a father. Despite a religious upbringing and weekly attendance at church, many narrators described their early childhood as "careless," "thoughtless," taken up with "trifles," with the "vanities" of the world. Few reported flagrant misdeeds or immoralities. (Men usually could; at least they cursed, blasphemed, and had bad companions.) As "sins" some women mentioned absorption in romantic novels; others described themselves as inordinately fond of dancing and going to the theater. One woman criticized her young self for being wild, impetuous, passionate, imaginative, and volatile; she had, she said, a "careless, prayerless soul."[12] Occasionally this period of spiritual "indifference" was punctuated by uneasiness. Often, however, such compunctions eased after a brief period, to give way to renewed carelessness and frivolity.

Then something happened, usually in their teens, to shake them out of their carelessness forever. Sometimes it was death or a close call with death. The decease of a close relative, friend, or acquaintance would initiate a period of new seriousness; sometimes the narrator herself suffered a severe illness that terrified her with the conviction that she was going to die unconverted. Occasionally the spur was simply a sermon or a passage of scripture or a conversation that made an intense impression. The candidate for conversion would begin to realize how sinful and thoughtless she had been all her life. Often her first reaction to this new consciousness of sin would be an attempt to reform her behavior: forego dancing and novels, subdue a quick temper, give up making critical remarks about others.

Typically this turning over a new leaf brought temporary satisfaction and peace of mind. But usually the sense of comfort failed to last. Good resolutions proved impossible to keep. The sense of sinfulness persisted despite her best efforts. If she managed a sort of "works righteousness," she still had to fight sinful pride about her new deportment. Sometimes she changed her behavior, but found she could not reform her "evil" thoughts or banish temptations.

What followed was a terrible period in which the candidate felt a deepening sense of sinfulness. Those under "conviction of sin," as this period was often labelled, became ever more convinced they were "vile wretches." They "trembled" at the thought of "the dreadful frown of an angry God."[13] They were tortured at the contrast between their "outward righteousness" and their inner "pollution" and "corruption." They gradually began to understand that they possessed no "merit" of their own, that they must look to God alone for their salvation. They knew that to be saved they would have to yield their wills utterly to his, yet for some reason they found they could not. They had been taught that they needed only to go to him, "just as they were," yet their hearts resisted his offer of grace.

One woman's period of conviction was initiated by a dream, in which she envisioned a heaven, "a beautiful field adorned with flowers . . . and a great company of shining people dressed in white robes, with white palms in their hands." In the dream she was barred from this land by first a wall, next a sea, and later a "bottomless pit." Not only did the dream recur three different nights, but in succeeding months, some events from the dream came true. Soon she came under conviction:

> I then thought I was cursed in very deed, which flung me immediately almost into despair; and in the greatest agony I fell to the earth. Viewing myself undone forever, and eternally lost, I was in the most deplorable situation conceivable, and despaired of ever going to that place [heaven]. I thought that the earth was just about to swallow me up alive, into everlasting destruction of both soul and body, and really expected to fall into the bottomless pit, where there was no recovery . . . my distress was of such a nature that medical assistance was entirely baffled; I fainted and fell to the ground.[14]

During this period narrators referred to themselves as "rebels" against God; they spoke of their "enmity" toward him. They grew certain that salvation was absolutely closed to them; they were inexorably hastening to their "eternal ruin." Turning to superlatives, they claimed they had committed "the unpardonable sin," or that they were the "chief of sinners." The hearts of women attracted the most intense scrutiny and condemnation. One woman cried,

> I want to serve God; but I feel *something* within me rising up in opposition to his authority, and prompting me to rebellion. What a strange heart I have! Did ever any one have such a heart before?[15]

Other women described their hearts with adjectives such as "hard," "cold," "flinty," and "unsubdued."[16]

Undoubtedly these periods were ones of great torment. Women (and men too) often found themselves sleepless, unable to eat. A few were driven to suicide, or to insanity. At the same time, however, it is not wise to read the narratives too literally. Narrators followed expectations; they trod a well worn path whose markers included a group of familiar phrases from the Bible and expressions from manuals and earlier conversions; narrators often described their experiences in almost formulaic terms. What Daniel Shea said of some Puritan spiritual narratives — that they were "not so much composed as recited"[17] — applies to those of the nineteenth century as well. Therefore it is sometimes difficult to gauge the true intensity of feelings in a given narrative.

Furthermore, it is difficult to read women's conversion narratives without suspecting they took some unspoken — probably unconscious — relish in their anger and rebellion toward God, possibly even in the prospect of their eternal ruin. Without trespassing much into the realm of psychology, one has to wonder whether, in rebelling against God's authority, women were also in some sense challenging the iron rule of fathers, husbands, and brothers.[18] They were accomplishing this safely and harmlessly, of course, in the traditional and approved formulations of Christian devotion. And they were rebelling in the expectation that they would ultimately surrender.

Under conviction, then, women became the main actors in a cosmic drama, the centers of the action. Feeling themselves the "chief of sinners" might be awful; at the same time they also could claim a great share of divine and human solicitude; their salvation became extremely important in the scheme of things.

In this vein it is tempting to speculate that the period of conviction, difficult as it might have been, possibly had romantic aspects reminiscent of the novels women took such pleasure reading and found so difficult to give up. Like the sentimental novels of the early nineteenth century the conversion narratives contained liberal amounts of "sensibility." Women moved by religious sentiments had "overflowing hearts," wept copious tears, and swooned, just like the heroines of romances; they also fell victim to bouts of "melancholy." Words like "ruin" and "undone" applied equally to rebellious sinners or female fictional protagonists. Women under conviction spoke of themselves as "wandering far from the Lord in heart"; they lamented their "wandering hearts." In using phrases such as these, women suggested they had some vision of themselves as outlaws, far from the "cheerful hearth" so often invoked by advocates of female domesticity. Could it be that the conversion process, whatever else it was besides, held out a way of escaping, in imagination at least, from the dull prosaic round of domestic duties and of becoming larger-than-life protagonists in the high drama of eternal glory and eternal damnation? Was the conversion narrative a sanctified substitute for the romantic novel?

After varying amounts of time this period of rebellion, terror, and conflict usually culminated in conversion proper. Sometimes the experience could be pinpointed to a particular day or even hour; in other cases conversion seemed to be accomplished more gradually, through a succession of significant experiences occurring over weeks and months. Conversion itself was often initiated by some event — a sermon, a revival, a conversation with a friend or relative — or by a passage of scripture, usually one that promised God's mercy and forgiveness. Sometimes ecstasy accompanied conversion; sometimes a profound sense of peace and confidence. For one woman conversion followed a conversation with a Baptist minister, who assured her that Christ had come to save even the worst of sinners. She described her resulting state of mind:

> surprising astonishment filled my soul. I beheld the Son of God expiring in agonies unknown, to gratify the malicious rage of wicked men. I thought he died to save my life, and arose again for my justification. . . . I then saw that God could be just and justify him that believeth in Jesus, even such a wretch as I was. In this view, no tongue can tell the extacy of joy that I was the subject of; my distress left me, and I could give glory to God with all my heart. I longed to praise him with every breath; my prayer was, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? Lord, speak; for thy servant heareth.[20]

One woman recounted a particularly significant day in her religious life. She had taken communion for the first time earlier in the day; afterward,

> I had retired for prayer; but my heart was so hard that I could not say a word. I tried to lift my thoughts to God; and presently a ray of light broke in upon my dark mind, for these words of the Saviour were brought to my recollection with wonderful vividness: — *If any man love me, he will keep my commandments, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him and make our abode with him*. These words seemed to banish all my fears. I felt that I did love the Saviour, and was determined to try to keep his commandments, and was therefore enabled to lay hold of the promise. . . . I then felt the sweet assurance of my acceptance with God. I had many seasons of delightful communion with the Saviour after this.[21]

Another woman described her experience on September 22, 1811: "I remember pleading [i.e., praying] for a new heart. I obtained no relief — no comfort. I was almost overpowered. My heart was hard and cold." Later on that day,

> I retired to my chamber and locked my door. No eye but those flames of

> fire which fill all Heaven with light, was upon me. I sat in the corner of the room, trying to meditate upon my situation, when a sudden impulse moved me to give myself away to Jesus. I dropped quick upon the floor, crying, "Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me." I can recollect no more, till I stood upon my feet; and walked around the room, where all about me seemed wrapt in mystery. And as poor as was the offering I presented, even my sinful self, Jesus took me up in his arms of mercy. I was a volunteer in the act of giving myself up to God. . . . Finding a solemn stillness in my mind, as I walked the room, I could not account for the alteration, as it had so recently resembled the surging waves in a violent gale. The noise of an accusing conscience was suddenly hushed — . . . The first thought that I recollect passing through my mind, breathed perfect purity; it was like this — O, I hope I shall never sin again. . . . I believe when a soul is given to Christ, he . . . separates the weeping sinner from old crimes; and heals every wound, making perfectly whole. The new-born soul is white as snow;[22]

Whatever the exact nature of the experience of conversion, it always involved utter submission, a complete yielding of the will to God. The accompanying image was often the "softened," "melted," or "broken" heart. The reward for such submission was the sense converts had of an intimate relationship with God. They spoke rapturously of being "clothed in his righteousness," of "casting" all their "cares upon him," and of a "walk with him." They could now hope for a "heavenly crown," anticipate gathering around the "throne of grace," or being united with their friends after death at the "mercy-seat."

Narrators had been unable to reform themselves through their own efforts, but conversion typically effected a permanent change in character. Female converts usually became meek, humble, mild, gentle, patient, quiet, even-tempered, childlike, and slow to "murmur" against the afflictions imposed by human or divine agency. They turned their backs on the "vain," "corrupt," "sinful" world, this "vale of tears." They lost interest in fashion and ornament — "babylonish dress," in one woman's phrase. Becoming "dead to self and the world," they turned very serious, spurning "trifling amusements." One woman said,

> The world with all its gay and enticing charms courted my affection to no purpose. I thought I had rather suffer afflictions with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, esteeming the reproaches of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt: yea, I esteem the present afflictions not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed hereafter; and I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of God, than to dwell in the tents of wickedness, being possessed of all the pomp and grandeur and affluence this world can afford.[23]

Despite the decisive transformation it brought, conversion did not completely end the struggle. Often the period of delight, peace, and assurance gave way to a time of doubt in which the convert again bewailed her hard, cold heart, her backsliding, and her spiritual darkness. Eventually this doubt would be followed by a renewal of consecration. Individual life after conversion, like Protestant evangelical life in groups, was a rhythm of spiritual slumber followed by new awakening, followed again by slumber and awakening. Nineteenth-century Protestants, in common with the Puritans before them, were wary of spriritual pride; they never wanted to sound overly certain about their place in heaven. Thus, a sense of backsliding was almost required. As one convert said,

> I felt the power of sin was not entirely broken within me — that there were still the remains of a corrupt nature clinging to me, which would again bring me into bondage, did not the Eternal hold me every instant in the hollow of his hand.[24]

Often an early death climaxed the career of a female convert, as if she had become too good to live in this world, as if the stress of imitating the self-denying Jesus had worn out her physical frame. (Female foreign missionaries, of course, almost always expired young.) Such women usually died exemplary deaths, "sensible" to the end, unafraid, uncomplaining, with their glance always "on the heavenly crown." Their pale foreheads or their fever-bright cheeks made them more lovely than ever. Their joy at "going home to their heavenly Father" contrasted with the tears of their sorrowing friends and relatives. Of course, the death scene — and "scene" if definitely was — could not be part of the conversion narrative proper. But some pious spectator was sure to record the drama, together with last words, perhaps to include it in a collection of memoirs. For dying triumphantly and peacefully was the final sign and seal of a true conversion.

Conversion might entail complete subjection to God's authority, but it also conferred a portion of divine authority upon the convert. Filled now with grace, she found new powers to speak and teach. However meek and lowly she might be, she felt the obligation to tell others of what God had done for her soul. Indeed, Barbara Epstein argues that female converts demonstrated a great deal of aggressiveness in their zeal to evangelize others, particularly men.[26] Even women who were shy and retiring by temperament plucked up the courage and will to proselytize others. One such woman took to visiting her neighbors after conversion. She was "led by the love of souls," her biographer said, "to enter the tenements of want, . . . to read a tract — to entreat the wretched inmates to think of their never-dying souls, or to lift up her voice in the midst of them in prayer to her heavenly Father, —"[27] Very soon after her conversion another woman began to tell her story to others. "I related the dealings of God with me, which account proved instrumental in God's hands of the awakening of fifteen souls." Later on she found she could address large groups of people:

> I had the strength of God to talk to them; my tongue seemed to be let loose and my heart was enlarged; it seemed that my mouth was filled with arguments; the scriptures flowed into my mind, text after text, as though the whole Bible was committed to my memory. It being in the city, two hundred had collected before I had done speaking;[28]

In some cases absolute dependence on God yielded another advantage; it sometimes seemed to give women the authority to flout social convention and even the wishes of their families. They could appeal to a higher kind of obedience. We have already seen this operating in one woman's contrast between what "Grace says" and what "Nature says." Another female convert was disowned by her Roman Catholic father and uncle when she joined the Baptists shortly after her conversion, but she steadily refused to recant. Hester Ann Rogers, a model for American woman, aroused her family's opposition because she became associated with the Methodists — "but the Lord gave me a mouth and wisdom to plead my own cause with arguments from his word, so that they were in some measure all put to silence."[29] Through conversion many women, like Rogers, received "a mouth and wisdom" to tell of the Lord's "dealings" with them, and the courage to defy or ignore those who would tell them women should keep silent.[30]

Thus, the conversion narrative was a useful vehicle for Protestant women to emerge into public view as religious teachers. The formulaic element allowed them to express their inmost emotions — their sense of guilt, their rage, their love of God, their exaltation — without becoming embarrassingly personal. They could give vent to elemental and even outrageous and violent feelings, but anonymously as it were, and in images and phrases hallowed by long usage. To some extent, the narrative discouraged originality, uniqueness, eccentricity, and individuality of voice — none of which respectable middle class women were supposed to display.

Female narrators also benefited from the fact that they quoted incessantly from the Bible, and often employed the pronoun forms of the King James Version ("thee," "hath"). If accused of too much boldness in recounting God's dealings with them, the female narrators could answer that they simply used the language of scripture, not their own. "Not my words, Lord, but thine," they could reply to their critics, or to their own consciences.

Some of these same elements made conversion narratives effective teaching devices, powerful pieces of exhortation. Because of the repeated phrases and the constant quoting of the Bible, they were easily disseminated by female evangelists and readily appropriated by new converts to describe their experiences. Moreover, the familiar seventeenth century prose of the King James Bible contributed a beauty, a nostalgia, and a sublimity to the account of human experiences. Possibly, too, the resemblances between the sentimental novel and the conversion narrative helped render the narrative more inspiring to women who relished the romances (even when they refrained from reading them).

American Protestants from the time of the Puritans had made the most intimate workings of the heart in its relation to God the stuff of public confession. Women, who had searched their hearts most thoroughly — or at least so popular perception had it — fell heirs to the tradition of public confession. Who then could blame them for wanting to be shining examples for other "poor perishing sinners" to follow? And who could chide them for proceeding to advertise their experiences in print, in this way teaching others the way to "eternal bliss"?

Notes

[1] Dorothy C. Bass, " 'Their Prodigious Influence': Women, Religion and Reform in Antebellum America," in Rosemary Ruether and Eleanor McLaughlin, *Women of Spirit: Female Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Traditions* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), pp. 279-300.

[2] Barbara Welter, "The Feminization of American Religion, 1800-1860" in Mary Hartman and Lois Banner, eds. *Clio's Consciousness Raised* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1973), pp. 137-155; Richard D. Shiels, "The Feminization of American Congregationalism, 1730-1835," *American Quarterly* 33 (Spring 1981): 46-62; Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977).

[3] Herbert Ross Brown, *The Sentimental Novel in America, 1789-1860* (New York: Pageant Books, 1959), p. 104.

[4] For the situation of American women in the early nineteenth century see Barbara J. Berg, *The Remembered Gate: Origins of American Feminism: The Woman and the City, 1800-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study of American Domesticity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973). For women missionaries see R. Pierce Beaver, *All Loves Excelling: American Protestant Women in World Missions* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1968); Irwin T. Hyatt, Jr. *Our Ordered Lives Confess: Three Nineteenth Century Missionaries in East Shantung* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976); Helen Barrett Montgomery, *Western Women in Eastern Lands* (New York: Macmillan, 1911).

[5] dmund S. Morgan, *Visible Saints: the History of a Puritan Idea* (New York: New York University Press, 1963); Norman Pettit, *The Heart Prepared: Grace and Conversion in Puritan Spiritual Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966); Daniel B. Shea, Jr. *Spiritual Autobiography in Early America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

[6] Jeanne Marie Bouvier de la Motte Guyon, *Autobiography of Madame Guyon* (Philadelphia: Words of Faith, n.d.); Hester Ann Rogers, *Account of the Experience of Hester Ann Rogers and Her Funeral Sermon, by Rev. T. Coke* (New York: T. Mason and G. Lane, 1837). The translation of the Guyon autobiography is ''Protestant,'' and so her conversion adheres fairly closely to the Protestant pattern in this edition.

[7] Barbara Leslie Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth Century America* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1981), p. 54.

[8] Jonathan Edwards, ''A Narrative of Surprising Conversions,'' in *Selected Works of Jonathan Edwards* Vol. I (London: The Banner of Truth Trust), pp. 39-40.

[9] Sarah Hamilton, *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Hamilton* (Boston, 1803). Pamphlet, p. 8.

[10] Harriet Livermore, *A Narration of Religious Experience* (Concord, Mass.: 1826), pp. 12, 13.

[11] *The Missionary's Daughter, or Memoir of Lucy Goodale Thurston of the Sandwich Islands* (New York: Dayton and Newman, 1842), p. v.

[12] Livermore, *Narration*, p. 28. Often women did not specify what romances or novels they had read. Livermore, however, mentioned the books of Richardson, Radcliffe, and Scott.

[13] Cf. ''work out your own salvation with fear and trembling.'' (Phil. 2:12)

[14] Hamilton, *Narrative*, p. 4.

[15] John A. Clark, *The Young Disciple; or, a Memoir of Anzonetta R. Peters* (Philadelphia: William Marshall and Co., 1837), p. 43. The ''chief of sinners'' phrase is biblical: ''Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners: of whom I am chief.'' (I Tim. 1:15) Bunyan, of course, used it in *Grace Abounding*. Rebellion against God is a repeated idea in scripture. The phrase ''enmity against God'' appears in Rom. 8:7 and James 4:4.

[16] Cf. ''The heart of man is deceitful, and desperately wicked.'' (Jer. 17:9). Also, ''I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh.'' (Exek. 3:261) The Bible frequently speaks of hearts being ''hardened.'' In the Puritan New England tradition, Edward Taylor lamented his ''deceitfull heart,'' ''Colde heart,'' ''[har]d heart,'' ''formall heart.'' (Quoted in Shea, *Spiritual Autobiography*, p. 99.) Puritan Elizabeth White described a ''heart worse than the Devil.'' (Shea, *Spiritual Autobiography*, p. 184). Cf. also ''Thy [i.e., God's] spirit then will speak/Through lips of clay/Till hearts of adamant shall break,/Till rebels shall obey.'' In another hymn God is asked to ''fill the coldest heart with love:/Soften to flesh the flinty stone.'' J. Alden, *The Sacred Lyre: A New Collection of Hymns and Tunes for Social and Family Worship* (Boston: Andrew F. Graves, 1859), Nos. 61, 62.

[17] Shea, *Spiritual Autobiography*, p. 106.

[18] One woman's "enmity rose to such a height, that she could have consented herself to go to Hell could she but carry God with her." This is a description by her pastor, to whom she apparently confessed such feelings. Quoted in Epstein, *Politics of Domesticity*, p. 56. Another woman said, "my heart even dared to rise in open rebellion against the justice and government of an infinitely wise God . . . I even presumptuously wished the restraint of my parents was no longer binding, . . . that I might indulge without control in all the vanity my sinful heart desired." Ibid., p. 57. Barbara Welter interprets the yielding in sexual terms in "The Feminization of American Religion," p. 142-3.

[19] Livermore's *Narration* even followed the epistolary style of Richardson and his imitators. Some connections between nineteenth century romanticism and evangelical Protestantism have been noticed. See, e.g., Ralph H. Gabriel, "Evangelical Religion and Popular Romanticism in Early Nineteenth-Century America," *Church History* 19 (1950): 34-47. For discussions of novels of the period see Brown *The Sentimental Novel*, and Helen Papashvily, *All the Happy Endings* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956).

[20] Hamilton, *Narrative*, p. 6.

[21] Clark, *The Young Disciple*, p. 70.

[22] Livermore, *Narration*, pp. 46-51.

[23] Hamilton, *Narrative*, pp. 7-8. For the biblical sources of some of these phrases see Heb. 11: 25-26 and Psalm. 84:10.

[24] Clark, *The Young Disciple*, p. 80.

[25] Brown, *The Sentimental Novel*, discusses the popularity of death scenes in early nineteenth century novels. One novel contained fifty-seven! Pp. 340-342.

[26] Epstein, *Politics of Domesticity*, p. 59.

[27] Clark, *The Young Disciple*, p. 80.

[28] Hamilton, *Narrative*, pp. 7, 12.

[29] Rogers, *Account of the Experience*, p. 25.

[30] Amanda Porterfield, *Feminine Spirituality from Sarah Edwards to Martha Graham* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980), p. 47-48, notes that with Sarah Edwards, wife of Jonathan, her complete dependence upon God following her conversion gave her a certain independence from her husband and the opinions of others.

By the Bowels of God's Mercy: Protestant and Catholic Responses to Educational Development in Cincinnati, 1830-55

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Introduction

Recent historiography of American Catholic schooling has focused on the interrelationship of culture and institutional formation, as historians have come to see American public education in the 19th century as bound up with evangelical Protestantism, and the development of Catholic schooling as the product of Catholic alienation from common schools.[1] That such an interpretation of the dynamics of Catholic school formation has become the "conventional wisdom" makes it no less true. However, such a model needs to be "fleshed out" in order to avoid neglecting the rich diversity which characterized 19th century America. One was not simply a Protestant, but rather a Lutheran or Presbyterian, a pietist or "liturgical."[2] One lived in Cincinnati or New Orleans, rural Indiana or urban Boston. The myth of monolithic Catholicism has given way to a new understanding of significant differences within the Roman community, based on such variables as class and ethnic origin. All of these differences, geographical, ethnic, and religious, affected the patterns of public and parochial school development in particular communities, giving each a unique saga.[3]

To these variables must be added that of personality. Why was the history of school development different in New York than in Cincinnati? In part, because individuals like John Hughes and later, Nicholas Murray Butler, shaped New York's schools and not those of Cincinnati. The ideologies which found expression in specific 19th century educational arrangements were always, in the final analysis, filtered through the personalities of the school entrepreneurs of the day.

Within the general context of Catholic alienation and Protestant hegemony, attention must be paid to the specific patterns of local school development. Each community left its particular educational footprint, similar enough to those of others to establish common trends, but unique nonetheless. Like the commonalities, the particularities of school formation and development teach us about the dynamics of public and parochial schooling in the first half of the 19th century.

Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in frontier Cincinnati. This essay will explore the ways in which such local variables as significant personalities and popular sentiment helped to shape the emerging networks of common and parochial schooling. Out of this will develop a portrait of a city whose early educational formation differed somewhat from that in other locales, but which was also influenced by national patterns.

Early Education in Cincinnati: A Brief History

As in other cities, Cincinnati's earliest schools were private and proprietary. Many were founded by Protestant ministers and devout laymen, who sought to encourage Christian virtue and classical learning.[4] The first important school foundation occurred in 1815 with the inauguration of the Lancastrian Seminary. Founded by Dr. Daniel Drake, a prominent booster and *literateur*, the Rev. O.M. Spencer, a Methodist pastor, and the Rev. Joshua L. Wilson, a Presbyterian minister, the school was funded by selling shares which entitled the owner's children to a substantial tuition reduction.[5] We may note that Spencer was later to become one of the founders of the city's common schools while Wilson was active in both local educational and religious affairs throughout his career, becoming in the process the famous Lyman Beecher's archenemy.[6] Thus, the bonds between evangelical religion and educational leadership were already in the process of being forged even before the advent of common schooling.

Rapid increases in Cincinnati's population from 2,320 in 1810 to 9,642 in 1820, and 24,831 in 1830[7] were paralleled by a steady increase in schools. Increasingly, the community came to see schooling as a responsibility of the entire public. The year 1829 saw the first organization of common schooling in the city, albeit a primitive one. A school trustee narrates that in 1831 he found a school house occupying the basement of a small house, amid pools of water and pits excavated by brickmakers. In a single room, 70 pupils of all ages studied under the guidance of a single teacher.[8] Until 1840, School Board minutes indicate that schools functioned in various makeshift accommodations, frequently utilizing the facilities of Protestant churches.[9] The use of such facilities for common schooling in four of the city's five wards was both a continuation of religious involvement in education and the beginning of a strong pattern of interrelationship between public education and the city's evangelical mainstream.

An additional connecting link between pan-Protestantism and the common schools is found in the individuals who supervised and taught in them. The founders of common schooling in southern Ohio were almost uniformly religious men, motivated by their evangelical commitment.

Samuel Lewis, the first state superintendent, was a Methodist lay preacher.[10] One of the Cincinnati schools' founding teachers was the Rev. Samuel Johnston,[11] while in 1835 the Rev. C.B. McKee, the founder of a classical academy, abandoned his own school in favor of a position as teacher in the Fourth Ward's common school, and was appointed principal later in the same year.[12] Another minister, the Rev. Elijah Slack, was hired as principal in the First Ward in 1836.[13]

While sketchy records indicate only one instance of ministerial membership on the School Board during its early years,[14] there are numerous examples of clerical participation on the Board of Examiners, with at least four ministers serving between 1829 and 1839.[15] The position in which these clerics came to predominate is especially significant. As school examiners, they quizzed children on lessons and religious doctrine, and judged the teaching ability of instructors. As principals, they were responsible for the day to day administration of their schools, and for setting the moral tone within them. Ministers gravitated toward those positions in which their religious influence would be most clearly felt, as well as in which the higher salaries would more adequately supplement their frequently meager ministerial stipends. Distrusting parties and elections, they steered clear of overt political activity which School Board membership required, and avoided less prestigious teaching positions. Taking upon themselves roles similar to those they already had in the church, they shaped the school system by their moral influence.

It was during this period, too, that the seeds were sown for later controversy over the use of the King James Bible. While the Board had ruled in October of 1837 that Sunday schools could not use the facilities of the common schools,[16] it simultaneously promoted the use of the King James Bible:

> Mr. Langdon reported that he had obtained as a donation from the "Young Men's Bible Society" eight copies of the "Holy Bible" for the Common Schools of the 1st Ward, that he had furnished each school room in the first and second district with a copy, and instructed the Teachers to read from them to their pupils at stated periods, and on such occasions to require the strictest order and attention, thereby securing for the Bible a higher degree of veneration from the Scholars than they have for other books, and higher than they would have for the Bible were it only used as a common school book.[17]

This use of the Bible would be a major source of tension in the years to come.

The late 1830's witnessed increased complexity in, and consolidation of, the city's schools. In 1836, the teachers founded a Faculty Association, which met twice a month to compare views and plan for further school development. A year later, the Board was reorganized to include two elected members from each ward rather than one.[18]

The final decade of the half century saw further improvements in the educational system. There were significant increases in both the numbers of students and teachers in the schools. In 1839, the Board adopted a plan to establish schools within the walls of the orphan asylums, and schools were also founded during this period to meet the special needs of German immigrants, working apprentices, and blacks.[19]

Perhaps the crowning achievement of the school system during this first half century was the establishment of a genuinely public high school. In the early 1830s, William Woodward, a wealthy farmer, had died and left his property to establish a school for the education of poor youth.[20] This "Woodward College or High School" was technically private, but in fact offered free tuition to 10 boys chosen annually from the city's common schools.[21] About 10 years later, another prosperous farmer, Thomas Hughes, left a legacy for the foundation of a second free school.[22] These efforts came together in 1851 with the merging of the Woodward and Hughes endowments into a single fund for the financing of a public high school, to which all white youths of either sex, over the age of 13, capable of passing an entrance examination, and certified of good moral character, were to be admitted for a tuition-free education.[23]

The foundation of the high school marked the coming of age of Cincinnati's common schools. In the space of 20 years, the total school population had grown from around 2000 to 6700.[24] Beginning from private schools founded by Protestant ministers, the common schools had increased in size and complexity. From the very beginning, the pervasive evangelical presence made itself felt in school policy formation. This Protestantization of common schooling was ultimately to encourage the separate network of Catholic schools which developed over time.

Like Cincinnati's public schools, the Catholic ones also developed from private academies for elites, and evolved into a network of quasi-common schools. The fashion in which this transpired, however, was somewhat different from that of the public schools.

The first bishop of the diocese, Edward Dominic Fenwick (Bp., 1821-32), had tried unsuccessfully on several occasions to obtain sisters from Europe to staff at least one school. Finally, while attending the First Provincial Council of Baltimore, he lobbied with the Sisters of Charity at Emmitsburg, Maryland for personnel to open an institution. In October, 1829, four sisters arrived and began a girls' school, which had enrolled 106 children within four months.[25] The Church's first venture into secondary and higher education came with the foundation of the Athenaeum of Ohio in 1831. Based upon a European model of a six year post-primary course leading to the baccalaureate, it served both Catholics and Protestants.[26]

With the installation of John Baptist Purcell as second bishop in 1833, a new era of school development began. Both because of longevity (he ruled the diocese for nearly 50 years) and personality, Purcell exercised considerable influence over the region's educational development, and his interest in school-related topics was evident from the early days of his administration. In 1834, he founded Holy Trinity parish, the second in the city, to serve the needs of several thousand German immigrants. From the beginning, the parish conducted a school in the church basement, establishing a tradition that "the first movement of German Catholics in a new settlement is to build a church and school house."[27] By 1847, Purcell was able to report to the *Propaganda Fide*, the Vatican bureau responsible for the Church in missionary countries, that "we have twelve churches here, which also have schools for Catholic boys and girls, an orphan asylum, as well as two colleges."[28]

One feature of Catholic school development during this period was the rise of the "Catholic public school." Just as evangelical Protestants dominated Cincinnati's common schools, turning them into *de facto* Protestant institutions, Catholics in the northern part of the diocese took over the common schools in their communities and turned them into Catholic ones. These rural areas were almost entirely Catholic in composition and, as a result, Catholics dominated the common schools, turning them into *de facto* Catholic ones.[29] Thus, we find situations such as the one at Glansdorf in 1840:

> Near the church and similarly constructed stands the schoolhouse. The priest was for 18 months the school-master, and it is worthy of record that the common school fund furnished a fair contingent of his salary. We are happy to say that this is not the only instance of such rare justice to the Catholic population of Ohio.[30]

Over the next 40 years, this arrangement would prevail in several rural areas, with the public schools staffed by Catholic teachers who taught catechism and Bible history along with secular subjects.[31] The result, as one pastor described it, was "a district school attended by Catholics . . . to be built by the board of the district (as we could not build it with our own church funds)."[32]

Catholic education throughout the area was generally characterized by slow and steady growth. In 1839, only two Catholic schools were in existence in Cincinnati, educating around 500 students.[33] Eleven years later, eight of the ten city parishes had schools, with an enrollment in excess of 2000 pupils.[34]

This expansion mirrored the general increase in the area's Catholic population. An 1840 report to the *Propaganda Fide* stated that Catholics were the most numerous religious group in the city, with the possible exception of the Methodists, and that at least 7000 of these Catholics were German.[35] Massive immigration was beginning to change both Cincinnati's ethnic and religious climates.

Catholic schooling, like public education, had developed out of proprietary schools. With the increased flow of immigrants from Ireland and Germany, a network of free or near-free parish schools had grown up, which served the ethnic and religious needs of the area's expanding Catholic population.

Catholics and Protestants Look at Schooling: 1830-1855

While the basic tenets of evangelical Protestantism encouraged the development of common schooling, added impetus was given by the fear of Catholic educational activity. Seen as vehicles for the conversion of Protestants and the subversion of the unity which public education sought to create, Catholic schools were opposed by the city's evangelical leadership.

Most frequently expressed was the concern over Protestant youth in Catholic schools, raising the spectre of the eventual conversion of a Protestant nation to Romish superstition. Thus, the *Western Christian Advocate*, rabidly anti-Catholic in tone, railed continually about the Catholic threat. St. Xavier College, the Jesuit institution, drew particularly heavy fire:

> In Cincinnaci alone, there are more than twenty-one Jesuits traversing the city from end to end, making proselytes and inducing Protestant parents to send their sons to their college. And, we are sorry to state, a great number of the pupils in St. Xavier College at the moment are the sons of Protestant parents.[36]

If that were not enough, the Jesuits planned, according to the *Advocate*, to establish a free school "in which they will have the opportunity to pervert the minds of the poor, as they now do the children of the wealthy in their higher seminaries."[37] Education for women was also seen as a religious threat:

> The Nazareth Roman Catholic female school at Bardstown, Ky., it is announced, has opened its academic year with one hundred and eighty boarding pupils. As its pupils are boarders, they are probably mostly from abroad. Probably not half of them belong to families even partial to the Roman Church, and perhaps not a fourth to families in actual communion with that Church.[38]

Much Protestant distrust of Catholic schooling originates in this early distrust of religious proselytization.

Another fear was that common schooling would suffer as a result of competition with Catholic schools. Attempts to found religious schools were seen as "hostile to the great common school cause of the country."[39] Indeed, Catholics were accused of plotting to destroy the system of common schools.[40] Such threats are understandable in light of the tentative character of common schooling during the period. The development of one network of non-public schools argued for the formation of others, with the possible result of the defeat of common schooling.

Underlying this concern was the conviction that America was held together by a set of evangelical Christian values. Replying to a request for state funding by St. Peter's Orphan Asylum on the grounds that the city asylum was a Protestant institution and state funded, the *Advocate* maintained:

> Besides, the City Asylum is not a "Protestant institution" in any other sense than this, that all the institutions of the country are of Protestant origins — are founded on Protestant principles, and are managed by Protestant agents . . .[41]

The Protestant controlled secular press generally exhibited a more muted stance toward Catholic schools. Commenting on St. Xavier College, for example, the *Daily Commercial* editorialized, "we trust an intelligent public will continue to bestow on this institution the patronage its high literary and scientific worth merits,"[42] an attitude which was to continue during the next several years,[43] and similar sentiments were expressed by the city's other papers.

On some issues, however, the secular press echoed the fears of the evangelicals, the greatest of which was the apprehension that Catholic schools were a threat to the unity of public education. On this, the press was divided. The *Gazette*, reporting a fair to raise money for a Catholic free school, commented:

> The fair, we understand, has been very successful in its object and the school for free instruction which is to be completed with the avails of it, will doubtlessly be opened as early as possible. Now for a generous rivalry, between this and the other free schools of the city. "The best net catches the fish."[44]

This free market approach to educational choice, however, was opposed by the *Daily Commercial* and the *Daily Enquirer*. The *Commercial* raised the fear:

> The effort to establish parochial schools, if carried into operation will it is thought be prejudicial to the cause of education, because if one class of christians [sic] adopt a separate educational organization, other denominations will follow the example, which will weaken the general system until

> it will perish. The consequence of which will be a large portion of the rising generation will grow up uneducated, and exercise an unintelligent and licentious control over the principles, rights, and property of all.[45]

In similar fashion, the *Enquirer* argued against an allocation of a portion of the school fund to parochial education, since it would ultimately harm the common school system, which "was conceived in wisdom which far transcends the scope of narrow-minded and intolerant sectarianism."[46]

While it is difficult to assess the view of Catholic education held by the average citizen, the presence of Protestant children in the Catholic schools would seem to indicate that religious issues were suborindated to the desire for adequate schooling. Although it is impossible to determine the number of children involved, continual warnings appear in the evangelical press against such involvement, as do church resolutions censuring members for sending their children to Catholic schools.[47] Catholic sources also confirm this crossover. The bishop of Cincinnati reported in 1843 that more than half of the students in St. Xavier's College belonged to Protestant families,[48] while the Rev. Matthew O'Brien wrote from Somerset:

> Our school at St. Joseph's has been in operation since the first week of December and will continue. Father Daly attends to the school in person and it is well attended, many Protestants send not anymore [sic] to the Public School, but to the Catholic Church School.[49]

Catholic authorities were conscious of the schools' value in proselytization. Thus, the *Catholic Telegraph*, the diocesan weekly, reported the success of a school founded by Visitation nuns in Kaskaskia, Ill., among both Catholics and Protestants.[50] An early prospectus for the Athenaeum (later, St. Xavier College) overtly courted prospective students from Protestant families:

> Convinced of the truth of our holy religion, we are averse to all religious bigotry. And the student who differs with us in creed, will not be the less cherished, than his companion, who believes and kneels at the same altar. Full of respect for the religious feelings, and religious freedom of others, never in our own establishment, shall we manifest a spirit of sectarian proselytism.[51]

The memoirs of a student in a similar institution, the Jesuit college at Bardstown, Ky., however, points out the influence such an atmosphere might exert on an impressionable youth. Charles Drake, though from a stout Protestant background, gave serious thought to conversion as a result of this school's atmosphere.[52]

Protestant fears of Catholic institutions, then, had a basis in fact. While there is no evidence to suggest aggressive proselytism, the eagerness to accept Protestant students provoked evangelical anxiety, especially since the clientele of such institutions of higher learning was affluent and potentially influential.

Protestant concern over Catholic schooling, too, must be viewed in the context of evangelical interest in, and support for, common schooling. As Protestant attempts to institute denominational day schooling faded by the middle of the century, the commitment to public education grew. An 1838 editorial insisted that promotion of such schooling was a part of ministerial duty:

> It is not enough that ministers should barely approve of a good common school system, and then wish it good speed: but leave others to carry the plan into practice . . . Direct and active exertions on the part of the ministry are called for, in order to elevate a large portion of ignorant man, and to rouse others to that activity so necessary in accomplishing so great a work as that referred to . . . to preach on education is the Disciplinary duty of Methodist preachers.[53]

Both involvement in the promotion of common schooling and fear of Catholic educational efforts inevitably influenced Protestant views of parochial schooling.

The attitudes of Cincinnati's Catholics toward public and parochial schooling were both representative of the American Catholic community, and unique. Increasingly suspicious of public schooling and committed to parochial schools as the era progressed, the area's Catholics, during the early nineteenth century, were nonetheless more cooperative toward, and tolerant of, common schooling than their co-religionists in many other areas.

As part of the ecclesiastical province of Baltimore until 1850, Cincinnati was subject to the legislation of that province's councils. While these promoted Catholic schooling, they condemned only the use of anti-Catholic textbooks, and not the common schools in which they were used.[54] By the Fourth Provincial Council in 1840, however, disillusionment had begun to set in about the ability to achieve compromise with public education:

> It is not then because of any unkind feeling toward our fellow-citizens, it is not through any reluctance on our part, to contribute whatever little we can to the prosperity of what are called the common institutions of the country, that we are always better pleased to have a separate system of education for the children of our communion, but because we have found by painful experience that in any common effort it was always expected that our distinctive principles of religious belief and practice should be yielded to the demands of those who thought proper to charge us with error; and because we saw with great pain the differences which an attempt to

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> combine and conciliate principles, which we have never been able to reconcile, has produced in a distant Church which has always been found faithful.[55]

The experience of the National School System in Ireland, to which the passage alludes, has made the American bishops cautious of similar innovations.

In May of 1852, Archbishop Francis P. Kenrick convened the First Plenary Council of Baltimore, a gathering of all six archbishops and thirty suffragan bishops of the United States. This council reflected a growing emphasis on Catholic schooling in its documents. Priests are admonished to instruct youth in Christian doctrine, and not to pass this task off on others.[56] There is a strong mandate for Catholic schools:

> We encourage the bishops and, having given our attention to the most serious evils which are usually consequent on a youth not properly instructed, we beseech them by the bowels of God's mercy, that schools be established and joined to each and every church of their dioceses, and that, if it is necessary and circumstances allow, they provide from the revenues of the church to which the school is joined, that suitable teachers may be employed there.[57]

The order to use parochial revenues for schooling effectively established a mandate for a network of Catholic common schools.

The sentiments of the Plenary Council are echoed in those of the First Provincial Council of Cincinnati, held in 1855. The bishops of the region are encouraged to erect Catholic homes, orphanages, and hospitals to counter the effects of the public institutions.[58] Moreover, local pastors are advised to turn their charges from schools which they cannot enter without danger to faith or morals, and "at the same time, to encourage parents to aid and sustain with appropriate subsidies parochial and other schools which are subject to Catholic control."[59]

There is, then, a progression in Catholic teaching on parochial schooling from 1829 to 1855. Initially supported by the hierarchy but not overly stressed, Catholic schools were becoming an integral component of parish life by the middle of the century. The bishops had moved in the direction of founding a separate but parallel network of common schools, which the faithful were expected to support personally and financially.

While nationally the Church was moving in the clear direction of a separate network of schools, the situation in Cincinnati was more complex. On the one hand, Archbishop Purcell echoed the concerns of the other bishops with whom he had issued the conciliar legislation about schooling. On the other, his personally moderate view of public schooling caused it to be seen as less of a threat by Cincinnati's Catholics than might have otherwise been the case.

Purcell's attitudes are best gauged by the editorial policy of the *Catholic Telegraph*. Not only was it the official organ of the diocese, but it was edited by Purcell's brother, Edward, and frequently contained editorials written by the archbishop himself, making it an accurate barometer of official Catholic positions.

For Purcell, there was a perennial worry over the Protestant tenor of the common schools:

> In this, as well as in every town of the state, there are, sectarian *free-schools*, which the children of poor Catholics frequent for the purpose of learning to read, and where, under the pretext of Charity and the grievous abuse of that sacred virtue and name, the fountains of spiritual life are poisoned and those unsuspecting children have *tracts* placed in their hands, insinuating the vilest and most malicious slanders of our real principles and thus literally received, for bread, a serpent. Knowledge purchased at so dear a rate reminds us of the price first paid for it in Eden.[60]

This tone, as the *Telegraph* frequently reminded its readers, made such educational institutions intolerable for Catholics. Thus, stories of a teacher who set as her copy for writing "The Protestant Religion is not Priestcraft,"[61] or another who taught children that "the Catholic wherever he dwells is considerably lower in the scale of mental culture and refinement than the Protestant,"[62] were kept constantly in front of the paper's readership to encourage their support of Catholic institutions.

The insistence that religion and morality were inseparable in education was also a recurring theme. The paper insisted that Catholic education was the most suitable kind, combining secular learning and moral development.[63] The insistence that *only* religious schooling was appropriate, however, would become strong only after the post-1870 secularization of the common schools.

Another theme, the injustice of taxing Catholics to maintain the common schools, emerged after 1840. The *Telegraph* maintained that Catholics were, in effect, doubly taxed in order to maintain their religious principles.[64] This theme, like the previous one, became strong only in the latter half of the century, however.

More important for our consideration are the ways in which Cincinnati differed from other locales. In comparison with bishops like John Hughes of New York, whose constant agitation for a share of the school fund and political sparring with the Public School Society led to a "school war,"[65] Purcell was strikingly moderate in his approach to public schooling.

A variety of evidence suggests that Purcell's attitude toward cooperation with public school authorities was basically an optimistic one.[66] The meetings of the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional

Teachers, an early educational society, were favorably reported in the *Telegraph*,[67] while a statement by Samuel Lewis, the first state superintendent, on the necessity of common schooling drew the *Telegraph's* admonition, "HEAR HIM."[68] The School Board's *Annual Reports* were summarized by the paper for several years.[69] In speaking of the need for moral education, the *Telegraph* demarcated its position on common schooling:

> Let us not, however, be misunderstood; by the use of the term Christian education in this place, we do not mean the introduction of sectarian doctrine into our common schools. We mean simply a conformity to that great code of practical morality in which all Christians agree. We reprobate as tyrranical all those means by which the doctrines of any one sect are forced upon the children of another. From the course of education, pursued in all schools open, as a matter of social right, to the admission of all parties everything of a doctrinal nature, except such moral principles as are common to all, should be excluded.[70]

Insistence that only Catholic schooling was of value would come only in later years.

Local reaction to Hughes' fight in New York is also indicative of the differences between that city and Cincinnati. When war was waged by Bishop Hughes for a share of the school fund, the *Telegraph* supported him, but rejoiced that the home situation was notably better.[71] Indeed, an earlier editorial by the paper had commented:

> Whilst in other cities and towns of the Union we read complaints of the course not unfrequently pursued by those who have charge of education; in Cincinnati the greatest satisfaction is evinced at the admirable manner in which the system is operating . . . we cannot let the opportunity pass without offering our mite to the encomiums justly pronounced upon Elam P. Langdon, Esq., President of the Board, who has always shewn [sic] a lively interest in the good cause of education, and has been untiring in his efforts to adapt the schools to every denomination of people.[72]

The Church's official position was generally one of warm support for common schooling, and even in less desirable circumstances, Catholics were urged to act "on the principle of the homely adage 'that half a loaf is better than no bread.' "[73]

This positive attitude was reciprocated by common school authorities. In the *Eleventh Annual Report* (1840), the outgoing School Board president, Langdon, proposed to incorporate the Catholic orphans' asylum into the common school system:

> If the Charity School supported by the Catholic church, but not confined by any means to the children of Catholics, could be brought within our Common School system, we do not doubt that our successors would gladly

furnish a teacher, as is now done for the Orphan Asylum.[74]

The rancor which was later to characterize public school officials' attitudes to Catholics was still strikingly absent.

There is evidence to suggest that the pragmatic stance taken by Protestant parents in sending their children to Catholic schools was also utilized by Catholics. Purcell's concern over Catholic students in the free schools, coupled with complaints from pastors about children matriculated in "the Protestant schools,"[75] suggests significant Catholic attendance at public schools. Just as Protestant parents crossed over to Catholic schools, so also Catholics frequented the public ones, especially when Catholic institutions were unavailable or inferior. Ordinary Catholics had not yet developed the mistrust of public education which would mark a later era.

Despite such irenic beginnings, the seeds of religious dissension had already been sown. Catholics were beginning to react with alarm to the Protestant bias found in common schools, and the burden of taxation to support an alien common school system was beginning to chafe. While initially positive relationships between Catholic leaders and public school authorities had raised hopes for further cooperation, broader forces at work nationally, such as ethnicity and the rise of the evangelical alliance, were beginning to be felt in the Queen City of the West.

Conclusion

While Cincinnati's educational saga resembles that of other urban areas, the contours are uniquely its own. The presence of German immigrants in significant numbers hastened public and parochial school development alike, and contributed such unique phenomena as the "Catholic public school." In a later era, Germans would incite nativist resentment by their masterful politicking on behalf of Catholic schooling.[76]

Similarly, Archbishop Purcell's cordial relations with urban leaders probably muted the kind of Protestant-Catholic tension over schooling which characterized other urban school systems of the day. Until at least the time of the Civil War, Purcell's friendly diplomacy would mark Cincinnati as unique among major American dioceses. The reciprocity of this friendliness seems to have discouraged anti-Catholic sentiment despite the efforts of the evangelical press.

At the popular level, ideological considerations seem to have been subordinated to practical matters in choosing which school to attend. Crossover by Catholics into the common schools, and by Protestants into the Catholic ones, indicates that the ideological conflicts of religious elites did not always filter down to common folk. Such crossover also attests to the lack of the strong nativist sentiment which was already being felt in some other cities.

As in other locales, public education emerged from private religious fee schools as a crude network of subscription schools and later, a system of genuinely free schools, a development marked by increased organizational complexity. The early influence of evangelical Protestants on the city's educational institutions was established in the private religious schools and carried into the common ones by ministers who, first as school proprietors and later as common school principals and examiners, brought the pan-Protestant ideology into public education. The result, as in other cities, was an educational system which drew Protestants together in a common enterprise, but shut out Catholics in the process.

The development of Catholic schooling paralleled that of public education. Religious orders founded schools which initially served an affluent clientele. With the advent of Irish and German immigrants, however, the parochial schools developed as genuinely common institutions. What eventually emerged was a loose network of locally governed free schools, Catholic in origin and reflecting the diverse cultures of their constituents and the shaping influence of individual Church leaders.

As was the case nationally, the fear of proselytization animated school development by Protestants and Catholics alike. Protestant leaders railed against Catholic schooling as a threat to the nation's unifying Protestant ideals, while Catholic leaders' initially optimistic view of public schooling grew more skeptical. Unable to achieve meaningful compromises with public school authorities, Purcell and his fellow bishops would move to promote a separate but parallel network of Catholic schools as the century progressed, while public education would remain evangelically Protestant.

Eventually, conflict over religious ideology would overwhelm local possibilities for conciliation. Cincinnati's citizens would divide sharply over the propriety of state funding for parochial schools, and the role of the Bible in public education.[77] What would emerge were two distinct ideological positions, the one clustering around the values of the pan-Protestant evangelical movement, with its desire to use social institutions to promote godliness, the other around the beliefs of nineteenth century Catholicism and its efforts to control the education of its young. Conflict over which would predominate became inevitable.

This combination of particular and general forces makes interpreting Cincinnati's educational history more complex, but also aids in our understanding of the whole of American educational development. The unique conciliatory factors of the area's early educational saga gives a tantalizing glimpse of what might have been in the whole of American schooling, had larger ideological issues been less dominant. At the same time, the way in which Cincinnati followed national patterns confirms the strength of influences such as religion in the shaping of American schooling. What had started in 1829 as malleable institutions had begun, by the middle of the century, to become inflexible and dogmatic, competing for the hearts and minds of children.

Notes

[1] Cf., for example, Timothy L. Smith, "Protestant Schooling and American Nationality, 1800-1850," *Journal of American History* 53 (Mar., 1967): 679-95, David B. Tyack, "The Kingdom of God and the Common School," *Harvard Educational Review* 36 (Fall, 1966): 447-69, David B. Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, "Hard Times, Hard Choices," *Phi Delta Kappan* 63 (April, 1982): 511-15.

[2] This taxonomy is explained at some length in Paul Kleppner, *The Cross of Culture* (New York, 1970), pp. 79-170.

[3] Even five years after its publication, Marvin Lazerson's path blazing article, "Understanding American Catholic Educational History," *History of Education Quarterly* 17 (Fall, 1977): 297-317, remains the most sensitive treatment of these differences nationally, though Lazerson does not deal with important variables such as personality and ideology. Similar developmental patterns have been pointed out by Coleman Barry, *The Catholic Church and German-Americans* (Milwaukee, 1952) and James Sanders, *The Education of An Urban Minority* (New York, 1977), among others.

[4] For example, the Rev. Robert Stubbs founded a classical academy in 1800 which was the region's first secondary school.

[5] W.H. Venable, *History of Cincinnati and Hamilton County* (Cincinnati, 1894), p. 98.

[6] Cf. Raymond Lee Hightower, "Joshua L. Wilson: Frontier Controversalist," *Church History* 3 (Dec., 1934): 300-16.

[7] Charles Cist, *The Cincinnati Miscellany*, 2 Vols. (Cincinnati, 1845), I, p. 19.

[8] *Report to the Commissioner of Schools* (Cincinnati, 1859), pp. 3-4.

[9] Cf. *Minutes of the Board of School Trustees and Visitors*, Sept. 13, 1830; Nov. 15, 1830; June 27, 1831; Oct. 17, 1831; Feb. 27, 1832. Cincinnati School Board Archives.

[10] Arthur Carr Taylor, "Samuel Lewis: Educational and Social Reformer." (Ph.D. dissertation, Western Reserve University, 1938), p. 159.

[11] Cf. *Minutes of the Board* for Aug. 19, 1829.

[12] *Ibid.*, April 27, 1835; Sept. 21, 1835.

[13] *Minutes of the Board*, Jan. 18, 1836.

[14] *Ibid.*, Sept. 16, 1839.

[15] *Ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1831; July 11, 1832; July 23, 1832.

[16] *Ibid.*, June 15, 1837; Oct. 3, 21, 1837.

[17] *Ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1837.

[18] *Report to the Commissioner*, p. 7.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 8. The development of German and black education in Cincinnati is beyond the scope of this essay. However, the Cincinnati public school system established German-English schools in 1840 to foster the study of German. An 1849 act of the legislature authorized the creation of a separate system of schools for blacks, which became quite extensive before it was subsumed by the common school system.

[20] Henry A. Ford and Kate B. Ford, *History of Cincinnati* (Cincinnati, 1881), p. 194.

[21] *Report to the Commissioner*, p. 7.

[22] Ford and Ford, *History of Cincinnati*, p. 194; Venable, *History of Cincinnati*, p. 117.

[23] *Report to the Commissioner*, p. 118.

[24] *Fifth Annual Report of the Board of School Trustees and Visitors* (1834), p. 4; *Twenty-First Annual Report* (1850), p. 61.

[25] Edward A. Connaughton, *A History of Educational Legislation and Administration in the Archdiocese of Cincinnati* (Washington, 1946), pp. 13-14.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] *Catholic Telegraph*, Sept. 4, 1835.

[28] Purcell to Propaganda Fide, Oct., 1847. Propaganda Fide Archives, microfilm reel 14. University of Notre Dame Archives.

[29] Cf., for example, "Extract of a Letter from Somerset, Ohio, Dated May 7," in *Catholic Telegraph*, May 19, 1832; the Rev. David J. Kelly to Purcell, Feb. 21, 1856. Cincinnati Archdiocesan Archives.

[30] *Catholic Telegraph*, Dec. 12, 1840.

[31] The Rev. Matthias Kenk to Purcell, May 1, 1872. Cincinnati Archciocesan Archives.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] *Catholic Almanac*, 1839 (Baltimore, 1839), p. 129.

[34] *Catholic Almanac*, 1850 (Baltimore, 1850), pp. 140, 146-47.

[35] The Rev. F.L. Huber to Propaganda Fide, July 2, 1840. Cincinnati Archdiocesan Archives.

[36] *Western Christian Advocate*, Sept. 18, 1848.

[37] *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1848.

[38] *Ibid.*, Oct. 14, 1857.

[39] *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1848.

[40] *Ibid.*, Sept. 29, 1852.

[41] *Ibid.*, Dec. 15, 1852.

[42] *Commercial*, July 18, 1848.

[43] *Ibid.*, Aug. 20, 1848; July 14, 1852.

[44] *Gazette*, Feb. 21, 1848.

[45] *Commercial*, Jan. 31, 1848.

[46] *Enquirer*, Mar. 22, 1853.

[47] Cf. resolutions of Maryland Lutheran Synod, *Western Christian Advocate*, Nov. 14, 1845.

[48] Purcell to the Propagation of the Faith, Feb. 10, 1843. Box II, University of Notre Dame Archives.

[49] The Rev. Matthew O'Brien to Purcell, Jan. 17, 1850. Cincinnati Archdiocesan Archives.

[50] *Catholic Telegraph*, June 29, 1833.

[51] *Ibid.*, Aug. 15, 1834.

[52] Young Charles D. Drake, the scion of a prominent Cincinnati family, decided while a student to convert to Catholicism. An exchange of letters on his possible conversion between himself and his father is preserved in his "Autobiographical Narrative," pp. 94-134. Manuscript in Cincinnati Historical Society.

[53] *Western Christian Advocate*, Mar. 30, 1838.

[54] Cf. *Concilia Provincialia Baltimori*, 1829-49 (Baltimore, 1851) and ed. Peter Guilday, *The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy, 1792-1919* (Washington, 1923), for the specifics of this early legislation on Church schooling.

[55] Guilday, *The National Pastorals*, p. 134.

[56] *Concilium Plenarium, 1852* (Baltimore, 1853), p. 46, no. XII.

[57] *Ibid.*, no. XIII.

[58] *Statuta Diocesana* (n.d., n.p.), p. 4, no. 15.

[59] *Ibid.*, no. 14.

[60] *Catholic Telegraph*, May 16, 1834.

[61] *Ibid.*, April 16, 1842.

[62] *Ibid.*, Nov. 8, 15, 1838.

[63] *Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1834.

[64] *Ibid.*, Oct. 10, 1840; Sept. 23, 1843; Sept. 30, 1847; Oct. 11, 1849.

[65] Cf. Diane Ravitch, *The Great School Wars* (New York, 1974), pp. 20-76.

[66] Anthony H. Deye, "Archbishop John Baptist Purcell of Cincinnati: The Pre-Civil War Years," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1959), p. 243.

[67] *Catholic Telegraph*, Sept. 8, 1836.

[68] *Ibid.*, May 9, 1839.

[69] *Ibid.*, June 30, 1836; Sept. 5, 1840.

[70] *Catholic Telegraph*, July 6, 1837.

[71] *Ibid.*, Sept. 5, 1840.

[72] *Ibid.*, Oct. 31, 1839.

[73] *Ibid.*, Sept. 5, 1840.

[74] *Eleventh Annual Report of the Board of School Trustees and Visitors (1840)*, *p. 4*.

[75] One indication of this is cited in note 60, part of the account of one of Purcell's pastoral visits printed in the *Catholic Telegraph*. Presumably, it was based on complaints from local pastors in the recently visited area. The sketchy records

of the diocese's early years give no other indications of Catholics in the common schools. However, as diocesan record keeping becomes more extensive, there is a steady flow of letters from parish priests complaining about this issue. Cf. the Rev. Anthony Hecker to Purcell, Nov. 28, 1861, and the Rev. Michael Kennedy to Purcell, Nov. 14, 1863, for examples. Cincinnati Archdiocesan Archives.

[76] For a fuller treatment of German political activity and its relation to religion and schooling in Cincinnati, cf. F. Michael Perko, "A Time to Favor Zion," (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1981), pp. 116-53.

[77] *Ibid.*, pp. 154-202.

Creationism vs. Evolution: Challenge to Educators

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Fundamentalists calling themselves creationists have campaigned for Genesis-based creation to be taught when evolution is taught in public schools. The intent, they say, is to restore morality and thus help reverse crime, drug use, abortion, homosexuality, and other ills of American society. To do this, they have introduced equal time creation/evolution bills in most state legislatures and in the U.S. Congress. The Congressional bill would give creationists equal research funds and teaching time when evolution lectures occur in national parks and museums.

Creationists' anti-evolution, anti-science campaigns climaxed in 1981 when Arkansas on March 19[1] and Louisiana on July 21[2] passed equal time laws, both challenged by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). On January 5, 1982, the day Federal District Judge William R. Overton declared the Arkansas law unconstitutional,[3] the Mississippi Senate approved a similar bill.

Educators, scientists, and others see creationists goals — to reverse America's moral decline through fundamentalist religion — is at best naive; circumvention of church-state separation as unconstitutional; contrived reinstatement of religion in public schools as dangerous; attacks on evolution and science for favoring a man-centered rather than a God-centered worldview as simplistic; and deliberate misconstruing of science as weakening America's future.

Perhaps wanting to avoid the sideshow that marked the 1925 Scopes trial in Dayton, Tenn., Arkansas State Attorney General Steve Clark declined the help of two leading creation lawyers. He earlier expressed doubts about the law's constitutionality and about the legislature's "taking over the job of setting subjects to be taught." A creationist leader criticized Clark by saying, "The handling of this case was very disappointing.

Creationists apparently wanted the national publicity given the Arkansas trial because it helped swell their Louisiana legal defense funds. Although many believe ACLU's defeat of Arkansas's equal time law will be repeated in Louisiana, creationist leaders expect to win in Louisiana.

Judge Overton's January 5, 1982, 38-page opinion exposed creationists' strategy and motives: that the cleverly worded Arkansas equal time bill was a smokescreen for teaching religion in public schools; that creation "science" is not science but disguised religion; that creationists' stress on the "two-model approach" is meant to exploit Americans' fairmindedness; and that one intent of state-enforced Genesis-based creation teaching is to weaken the evolution content of science, seen as part of "secular humanism" responsible for America's ills.[4]

Judge Overton traced the origin of fundamentalism to evangelical Protestant reaction to modernism and change, especially reaction to Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*, 1859, which suggested that all life evolved gradually over millions of years by natural selection as better adapted life forms survived and less well adapted ones died out.[5]

Disliking Darwinian evolution for casting doubt on divine creation, American religionists were further upset by late 19th century Bible scholars' evidence that the Bible was written by mortals and included myths and possible forgeries.

Some evangelical Protestants, believers in Christ's second coming, held annual Bible conferences to combat rising secularism. A famous 1895 Bible conference in Niagara, N.Y., affirmed as key Christian doctrines Bible inerrancy and Christ's divinity, virgin birth, absolution for man's sins, resurrection, and second coming. This affirmation, widely distributed in a pamphlet series called *The Fundamentals*, 1910-1915, largely inspired the 1920s anti-liquor Prohibition and anti-evolution teaching laws. Fundamentalist politician William Jennings Bryan's speeches helped spur introduction of 37 anti-evolution teaching bills in 20 states. Five states passed them, including Arkansas and Tennessee.

Thinking that an ACLU test case in Dayton, Tenn., would put their town on the map, a group there induced high school science teacher John Thomas Scopes, 24 and unmarried, to be arrested and tried. At the much publicized trial, fundamentalist William Jennings Bryan, for the state's prosecution, clashed with agnostic Chicago lawyer Clarence Darrow of the ACLU defense. Scopes was found guilty and fined (the $100 fine was later revoked on a technicality).

Fundamentalists thus won the Scopes trial and also won educationally as frightened publishers, authors, and teachers downplayed evolution. The textbook Scopes had used, George William Hunter's *Civic Biology*, in its 1926 revision omitted all mention of evolution. A study of biology textbooks noted:

> Self censorship exercised by the New York-based publishing industry . . . shaped the content of high school biology courses for 35 years following

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> the Scopes trial. . . . Publishers and authors feared that a good treatment of evolution meant the loss of the southern market — a fear which seems to have been justified.[6]

This near elimination of evolution in biology textbooks lasted until the post-Sputnik curriculum revisions when the National Science Foundation (NSF) financed the new biology (1958). By 1963 the Biological Sciences Curriculum Study (BSCS) had largely reinstated evolution in biology textbooks and thus provoked creationists' ire and stimulated their growth. Another factor was the 1968 *Epperson v. Arkansas* U.S. Supreme Court case (Arkansas in 1929, like Tennessee in 1925, passed an anti-evolution teaching law which remained on the books until a legal challenge by Little Rock biology teacher Susan Epperson led the U.S. Supreme Court in 1968 to declare Arkansas' 1929 law unconstitutional). Convinced that they could not legally dislodge evolution teaching, creationists seized on "equal time" as a strategy to appeal to Americans' sense of fair play.[7] What convinced creationists in this regard was a partial "equal time" victory in California under conservative officials, Governor Ronald Reagan and Superintendent of Instruction Max Rafferty.

Creationists had influenced California's school board to amend the state's science teaching guidelines in 1969 to require equal time evolution/creation teaching. Although California scientists were able to reverse this decision under Democratic Governor Jerry Brown's (1974) less conservative state school board, partial victory whetted creationists' appetites. To win California, which uses ten percent of all U.S. textbooks, was to win the nation. A *Science* magazine author explained:

> What is 'good' for California is likely to become 'good for the rest of the nation. . . . Unless publishers are prepared to produce special California editions — and they probably are not — the standard set for California will . . . become the standard for many other states.[8]

Creationists were also encouraged when fundamentalists largely won a 1974-75 campaign around Charleston, W.Va., against alleged dirty textbooks.[9] More encouragement came when Congress delayed NSF's 1975 funding because fundamentalists objected to an NSF-financed 6th grade social studies course, "Man: A Course of Study," for describing such Eskimo customs as wife swapping, incest, and senilicide.[10] Encouraging too were radio and TV evangelists' new wealth and influence, the religious right's victory in helping elect conservative President Ronald Reagan, and candidate Reagan's anti-evolution statement to fundamentalists in Dallas, Texas, August 22, 1980:

> It is a scientific theory only, and it is not believed in the scientific community to be infallible as it once was believed. But if it is going to be taught in the schools, then I think the Biblical study of creation should also be taught.[11]

Creationists arose mainly in reaction to the troubles of our time. A writer on the West Virginia textbook controversy expressed it as follows:

> The country is experiencing a religious crusade as fierce as any out of the Middle Ages. . . . Our children are being sacrified because of the fanatical zeal of our fundamentalist brothers who claim to be hearing the voice of God. People are confused and angry about everything from marijuana to Watergate. Feeling helpless and left out, they are looking for a scapegoat, eager to exercise all that is evil and foul, cleanse or burn all that is strange and foreign. In this religious war, spiced with overtones of race and class, the books are an accessible target.[12]

Substitute "evolution" for "the books" and one sees why the evolution/creation battle rages. Rapid changes, mainly for the worse, have put us off balance. The current conservative surge with simple religious answers to complex moral problems has understandable appeal.

One asks: Why was Arkansas chosen? How can Genesis-based creation be passed off as science today? Why are some Americans, if not attracted, at least tolerant of creationism? How does "equal time" hurt science teaching? What tactics and subterfuge do creationists use to supplant evolution with state-enforced Biblical creation teaching? Finally, what can educators do to counter creationists' successes?

Judge Overton's analysis gives the following background. Fundamentalist Paul Ellwanger of Anderson, S.C., organized and heads two organizations: "Citizens for Fairness in Education" and "Citizens Against Federal Establishment of Evolutionary Dogma." An anti-evolution activist, he is by profession an X-ray technician without training in law or science. Knowing that evolution cannot be barred from classrooms (because of the 1968 *Epperson v. Arkansas* Supreme Court decision), Ellwanger, helped by creationist lawyer Wendell E. Bird, developed model bills omitting references to religion or God in hopes of withstanding First Amendment constitutional challenges. He also used "balanced treatment" wording to appeal to Americans' sense of fair play in presenting both sides. Ellwanger insisted that non-ministers push the bills in order to avoid the taint of religion in the public mind. He urged supporters not to present the bills in a religious framework. He wrote a woman lobbyist for the bill not to mix "creation-science and creation-religion."[13]

Ellwanger sent his model bill to fundamentalist minister W.A. Blount, chairman of the Greater Little Rock Evangelical Fellowship. A member of that Fellowship gave the bill to Carl Hunt, business associate of Senator James L. Holsted, a "born again" fundamentalist, who introduced the bill into the Arkansas Senate. It was passed after a few minutes without debate or advice from educators or scientists or the attorney general. In the House, the bill was referred to the Education Committee for a 15-minute perfunctory hearing and was passed with little debate and no modification. It was signed by fundamentalist Governor Frank White, who owed his election to the Moral Majority and who later admitted that he had not read the bill. Judge Overton pointed out that all involved — Ellwanger, Blount, Hunt, Holsted, and White — were motivated by anti-evolution, pro-religious beliefs. A later investigator also found such close connections among those who got the act passed as to suggest strongly a conservative conspiracy.[14]

Arkansas was chosen, explained Little Rock's ACLU Executive Director Sandra Kurjiaka, because most legislators are from rural districts, are not overly "concerned about the constitutionality of laws they pass," and believe that a vote against creationism "would be a vote against God." Representative Michael Wilson, concerned about the bill, took Arkansas Methodist Bishop Kenneth W. Hicks to the hearing but found that "they would not allow the bishop to speak against it."[15] Kurjiaka added:

> I've never seen a piece of legislation go through that fast. It was very carefully orchestrated for the last days of the session, so that there would not be any opposition to it. . . . They succeeded in passing it without anyone watching. And now most members are very embarrassed that they voted yes for it. . . . I'm not sure there's anybody beyond 50 or so members of the Moral Majority in the entire state who want this thing.[16]

Judge Overton said "creation science" was not science but a misnomer contrived to mislead. Creationism as the sudden origin of the universe, energy, and life depends on supernatural intervention and is not testable, he wrote. Creationist belief in separate ancestry for man and ape is an assertion without scientific proof, he held. That the earth's geology and fossil remains were caused by a world flood in Noah's time, he wrote, has not been proved by natural evidence. The estimate of a 6,000 to 10,000-year-old earth is based, not on science, but on the genealogy of the Old Testament, he said. Creation science, he concluded, is not science.[17]

One reason Americans listen to creationists is that in time of stress people are gullible and superstitions easily surface, as shown by widespread belief in astrology and UFOs.

Grassroot creationist campaigns appeal to Americans already distraught over sex education, abortion, cohabitation, women's militancy, and similar trends. Creationist strength rose after BSCS reinstated evolution in biology teaching and after fundamentalists' dismay over 1962-63 U.S. Supreme Court decisions declaring public school prayer and Bible reading unconstitutional.[18]

A book which rallied creationists was *The Genesis Flood*, 1961, by creationists hydraulic engineer Henry M. Morris and Missouri Synod Lutheran theologian John K. Whitcomb, Jr.[19] This book led ten disaffected members to separate from the American Scientific Affiliation (ASA), a 1941-formed evangelical Christian group. Dissatisfied with ASA's growing acceptance of evolution, the ten formed in 1963 the Creation Research Society (CRS), whose constitution asserts the inerrancy of the Bible, opposition to evolution, and requires voting members to affirm the scientific truth of Genesis.

In 1964 the Bible Science Association (BSA) was formed by Missouri Synod Lutheran pastor Walter Lange to bring fundamentalists' "scientific" arguments to the public. In 1970 BSA member Nell J. Segraves,[20] her son Kelly, and others organized the Creation-Science Research Center (CSRC) to prepare "creation-science" literature for adoption in public schools. CSRC was organized along with and on the campus of Christian Heritage College in San Diego, an unaccredited fundamentalist school sponsored by independent Scott Memorial Baptist Church, whose Baptist radio preacher Tim LaHaye heads California for a Biblical Morality (In 1979 LaHaye co-founded the Moral Majority with the Rev. Jerry Falwell). In 1972, differences over tactics led the Segraves to remove the CSRC from Christian Heritage College, which then set up the Institute for Creation Research (ICR) as its new research division.[21]

These organizations coordinate political pressure to impose "creation science" on public schools, with the ICR actively producing teaching materials and developing "equal time" and "balanced treatment" model bills. Paul Ellwanger of Anderson, S.C. used ICR educational, "scientific," and legal advice in disseminating these model bills to state legislatures.

Some observers also sense a South-against-North regional conflict in the creation/evolution battle as well as rural-versus-urban and old settler-versus-newcomer antagonism. Anti-evolution teaching laws of the 1920s flourished in the southern Bible belt, while Baltimore *Sun* reporter H.L. Mencken's ridicule of fundamentalists at the Scopes trial reflected northern disdain. Little Rock press and city sophisticates generally opposed while small town and rural people mainly favored Arkansas' creation law. Some also see a class struggle, as Arkansas-born blue-collar worker and farmer creationists vent their frustrations at outside Johnny-come-lately mainly evolutionists who have moved into positions of local power.[22]

Creationists' drive for publicity in Arkansas was described by a retired biologist:

> As in the California Segraves trial, the creationists got what they wanted: publicity and a polarization of the populace. This issue will be won or lost

> not in the courts or in the legislatures but in the minds of ordinary folk. Our big job is one of education. (Also, politics.)[23]

As if agreeing, Senator James L. Holsted said of his defeated bill: "I think I had a victory because the idea and the spirit behind the law was to get people aware of creation science. That was my intention in the first place.[24] Another account had him saying, "It's just starting, all the hoopla and publicity. That's what I wanted. I feel like we really won, because people are talking about it."[25]

"Equal time" for creationism has no place in science teaching, wrote University of California (Riverside) biology Professor John A. Moore, who opposes equal time because "scientific matters are not resolved by democratic procedures." He explained:

> Democracy did not give us the laws of gravitation, the laws of thermodynamics, or Mendel's laws of inheritance. In a science class, creationism is not — indeed cannot be — a part of science because its statements are . . . based on revelation, not a careful marshalling of data by observation and experimentation.[26]

"Creationism," he said, "is religious dogma; evolution is scientific theory."

> Thus, scientists should oppose the teaching of creationism as science, though no one should object to it or any creation myth being taught as part of the history of religion.[27]

"Experience," he said, "has demonstrated clearly that there is no way to deal, in a scientific way, with determined creationists." "This is a political debate; it is not a scientific one." When one views the creation-evolution battle as political, not scientific, he continued, one realizes the difficulty in dealing with it in our democracy, where few political questions are settled for all time.[28]

Similarly, at a January 4, 1982, meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, creationism was called a political movement which must be met with political action as well as with scientific argument.[29]

Of creationists' demand for equal time, David Black wrote, "They developed a new strategy which appealed to [liberals'] sense of fair play: equal time. Biology teachers would be forced to divide time between creationism and evolution, thus weakening science while emphasizing the Bible. He called the creation movement "a slick, well-packaged campaign, run by fundamentalists who are trying to use conservatism as a trojan horse to smuggle the Bible back into public schools." They fight evolution, he said, because to them it "denies the unique position of man as the child of God and thus threatens the central premise of their religion.[30]

Creationists' strategies often succeed with the uninformed public. Creationists have gone over the heads of scientists and educators to influence sympathetic legislators, school boards, and education department members. Well-financed creationist leaders have a Madison Avenue polish unimagined by the 1920s fire and brimstone anti-evolutionists. Knowing the unpopularity of being anti-anything now, they project a positive "scientific" creationism which has carried them far. But the Arkansas trial showed that legislating curriculum infringes on educators' academic freedom and opens the door to all kinds of pressure groups wanting to say what, how, and when subjects are taught.

Evolution, cell theory, germ theory, chromosome theory of inheritance, and atomic theory in physics were never mandated for schools. Instead, they grew in acceptance out of their respective scientific disciplines. Judge Overton saw that for a legislature to mandate "creationism" would give this religious subject a privileged, unconstitutional place in the curriculum and set a dangerous precedent.

Another problem with legally required creation teaching is that textbooks and other learning materials are available from only one creationist publisher. The result is a dangerous situation in which a legislature or school board mandates a pressure group's anti-evolution position and then also required purchasing teaching materials from that same group.

Creation Life Publishers of San Diego reported over $350,000 profit from sales of creationist materials in 1979 alone, only a token sum if Arkansas' equal time law had been upheld. Several biology and other science teachers in Arkansas testified for the ACLU that, as conscientious educators, they could not use creationist-produced pseudo-scientific material. Their only way out, if the Arkansas equal time law had been upheld, would have been *not* to teach evolution at all so that they would not then be forced to use creationists' essentially religious materials.[31] Science, students, and the nation would then lose.

Creationists win by default as their well-funded full-time staffs focus on learning materials, programs, and debates. In contrast, not one scientist is funded full time to answer their claims and to promote evolution and science. Creationists like public debates and court trials because the publicity wins converts plus over $500,000 a year in donations.[32] They appeal for funds in the name of God to combat "communistic evolution,"[33] stating flatly (to use ICR Director Henry M. Morris' words) that "Evolutionary philosophy is the foundation of atheism."[34]

Legalized equal time would also raise the problem of public teacher education. Required to teach "creation science" equally with evolution, teachers would need to be trained by fundamentalists to present that version of Genesis. Constitutional separation of church and state would again be threatened.[35]

What can educators do?

Science teachers and other educators must resist lawmakers' efforts to dictate curriculum. Professional educators, not special interest groups, must finally use the pedagogical criteria to determine courses.

Educators need ready access to state laws and local school directives about teaching religion or other controversial topics. If state school laws are not sufficiently helpful, such laws should be changed to protect public schools from political and special interest pressures.

Where wide local latitude is permitted, educators need to be prepared to resist political pressures by organizing and keeping active a committee on teaching controversial topics. Such a Procedures Committee can help set directions, procedures, and policy and also receive, listen to, and help resolve complaints on censorship, religion, and related controversies in public schools, including creationism.

An active Procedures Committee can start and maintain a library of materials bearing on the teaching of controversial subjects. Such a library can include information from (and the names and addresses of) organizations from which to secure information about school laws (state attorney general, ACLU, others); where to get other educational help (National Education Association, American Federation of Teachers, American Library Association, others); where to get help on scientific matters (National Association of Biology Teachers, American Association for the Advancement of Science, others).

A Procedures Committee would know that the National Association of Biology Teachers (NABT) has a legal defense fund to help science or other teachers with legal problems related to a local school creation-teaching controversy. NABT also published an invaluable *A Compendium of Information on the Theory of Evolution and the Evolution-Creation Controversy*, Jerry P. Lightner, ed., revised February 8, 1978, 118 pp., $5, and published a quarterly newsletter on evolution/creation news, *Scientific Integrity*, $5.00. Another excellent pro-science quarterly is *Creation/Evolution*, P.O. Box 5, Amherst Branch, Buffalo, N.Y. 14226.

A Procedures Committee's library can include policy statements from educational and scientific organizations on the evolution/creation controversy, such as:

> Statements about creation that are part of the many religions have no place in . . . science and should not be regarded as reasonable alternatives to scientific explanations for the origin and evolution of life. (American Association for the Advancement of Science)[36]

> [We oppose] the teaching of creationism, the Bible version of how life began, as a mandatory part of the school curriculum, as it violates teacher and student rights. (National Education Association)[37]

> Scientific creationism, in all of its varied forms, is, at heart, a religious doctrine and all attempts to legitimatize it as a competing *scientific* theory must be rejected as sham. (American Jewish Congress Commission on Law and Social Action)[38]

A Procedures Committee would know about and have contact with its state "Committee of Correspondence," composed of volunteer scientists, educators, ministers, and others who monitor creationist pressures on local public schools and school boards. Informal contact among these 47 state committees is maintained by the Iowa Academy of Science Panel on Controversial Issues, Stanley Weinberg, Coordinator, 156 East Alta Vista, Ottumwa, Iowa 52501, Telephone (515) 682-7321.

Conclusion

An optimistic conclusion about the evolution/creation controversy is that legal precedent and most Americans now oppose equal-time evolution/creation teaching; that creationists are a small part of the diverse conservative spectrum among whom serious divisions exist; that religion's place is at home and in church; and that unfettered science and critical thought belong in public schools. In this controversy, as in others, freedom depends on our holding to established and essential constitutional safeguards.

Notes

[1] "Law on the Teaching of Creation Helps Governor of Arkansas Among Conservatives," *New York Times*, March 22, 1981; " 'Creation Science' Wins in Arkansas," *New York Times*, March 22, 1981; Broad, William J., "Louisiana Puts God into Biology Lessons," *Science*, Vol. 213 (August 7, 1981), pp. 628-629; Baltimore *Sun*, March 19, 1981; *The Miami Herald* (Fla.), March 22, 1981; *The Oregonian* (Portland), March 22, 1981; *Arkansas Democrat* (Little Rock), March 21, 1981; "ACLU Sues to Overturn Creation Law in Arkansas," *Acts and Facts* (Institute for Creation Research), Vol 10, No. 7 (July, 1981), p. 3; "Creation-Teaching Law will be Tested in Court," *Christianity Today*, Vol. 25, No. 15 (September 4, 1981), pp. 54-56; " 'Monkey Trial' in Arkansas," *Civil Liberties* (ACLU), No. 338 (June, 1981), pp. 1, 5, 8.

[2] "Louisiana Adding 'Creation' Studies," *New York Times*, July 22, 1981; Broad, *op. cit.*; Heard, Alex, "Putting Scientific Creationism in Curricula Would be Difficult and Costly, Officials Say," *Education Week*, August 24, 1981, pp. 12-13.

[3] The Rev. Bill McLean, et al. v. Arkansas Board of Education, et al., 1981, Civil Action No. LRC 81-322. Federal District Judge William Ray Overton's January 5, 1982, *Judgment*, 38 pp., was published in whole or part in *Education Week*, Vol. 1, No. 16 (January 12, 1982), pp. 1, 11-16; *Science*, Vol. 215, No. 4535 (February 19, 1982), pp. 934-943; *New York Times*, January 6, 1982. Other trial documents examined include "Plaintiffs' Pre-Trial Brief," December 2, 1981, 63 pp.; "Plaintiffs' List of Witnesses," filed October 15, 1981; "Plaintiffs' Preliminary Outline of the Law and the Proof," drafted October 13, 1981, 24 pp.; and "Defendants' Preliminary Outline of *The Legal Issues and Proof*," October 23, 1981, 16 pp.

[4] The Rev. Bill McLean, et al. v. Arkansas Board of Education, et al., 1981, Civil Action No. LRC 81-322.

[5] Bates, Vernon Lee, "Christian Fundamentalism and the Theory of Evolution in Public School Education: A Study of the Creation Science Movement," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Davis, 1976; Johnson, LeRoy, "The Evolution Controversy During the 1920's," Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1954, pp. 195-200.

[6] Grabiner, Judith V., and Peter D. Miller, "Effects of the Scopes Trial: Was It a Victory for Evolutionists?" *Science*, Vol. 185, No. 4154 (September 6, 1974), pp. 832-837; Weinberg, Stanley, "Concepts of Creationism and Evolution" (transcript of an address to the New York Academy of Sciences, February 6, 1981), *SISTA Journal* (Staten Island Science Teachers Association), Vol. 6, No. 3 (February, 1981), pp. 3-4, 8; Nelkin, Dorothy, *Science Textbook Controversies and the Politics of Equal Time*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1977; Nelkin, Dorothy, "The Science Textbook Controversies," *Scientific American*, Vol. 234, No. 4 (April, 1976), pp. 33-39.

[7] Grobman, Arnold B., *The Changing Classroom: The Role of the Biological Sciences Curriculum Study. BSCS Bulletin Number 4*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1969; *Epperson v. Arkansas*, 393 U.S. 97 (1968); also published in Fellman, David, ed., *The Supreme Court and Education. Classics in Education No. 4*. 3rd ed. New York: Teachers College Press, 1976, pp. 112-124.

[8] Bevan, William, "Two Cooks for the Same Kitchen?" *Science*, Vol. 177, No. 4055 (September 29, 1972), editorial page; Broad, William J., "Creationists Limit Scope of Evolution Case," *Science*, Vol. 221, No. 4488 (March 20, 1981), pp. 1331-1332.

[9] Parker, Franklin, *The Battle of the Books: Kanawha County*. Bloomington, Ind.: Phi Delta Kappa Fastback 63, 1975; Candor, Catherine Ann, "A History of the Kanawha County Textbook Controversy, April 1974-April 1975," Ed. D. Dissertation, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1976.

[10] Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 173; Park, Charles, "Preachers, Politics, and Public Education: A Review of Right-Wing Pressures Against Public Schooling in America," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 61, No. 9 (May, 1980), pp. 608-612; Nelkin (book), *op. cit.*, chapter 7; *Congressional Record* (May 7, 1975), pp. 13474-13476; *Congressional Record* (May 21, 1975), pp. 15783-15785; "Issues Underlying the MACOS Controversy," *EDC News* (Education Development Center), Issue No. 7 (Winter, 1976), pp. 1-2.

[11] *Facts on File*, August 29, 1980, p. 646.

[12] Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

[13] Judge W.R. Overton's January 5, 1982, *Judgment*, *Education Week*, Vol. 1, No. 16 (January 12, 1982), p. 16.

[14] Lewin, Roger, "A Tale with Many Connections," *Science*, Vol. 215, No. 29 (January, 1982), pp. 484-487.

[15] *Civil Liberties* (ACLU), No. 338 (June, 1981), pp. 1, 5, 8.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Judge W.R. Overton's January 5, 1982, *Judgment*, *op. cit.*

[18] *Engel v. Vitale*, 370 U.S. 421 (1962); *Abington School District v. Schempp*, 374 U.S. 203 (1963).

[19] An update of Seventh Day Adventist and self-educated geologist George McCready Price's *The New Geology*, 1923, which credited the Biblical flood instead of evolution with causing the earth's geological formations.

[20] With other creationists, she led in getting California's science guidelines to include equal time evolution/creation teaching during 1969-74.

[21] Bates, *op. cit.*; Nelkin (book), *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 73-78; Nelkin, "The Science Textbook Controversies," *op. cit.*; Pesta, Ben, "Science Vs. Religion: Battle of Our Times," *Hustler* (August, 1981), pp. 58-60, 74, 84, 126-130.

[22] "Creation Trial: Old South Against New," *New York Times*, December 13, 1981.

[23] Letter, David Kraus to Franklin Parker, January 6, 1982. The California Segraves trial referred to occurred March 1-5, 1981, when CSRC Director Kelly Segraves claimed violation of his three children's religious freedom because they were taught evolution dogmatically without a competing divine origin view. The media-heralded "Scopes Trial II" never wrestled with the larger constitutional issues, as did the ACLU challenge trial in Arkansas (December 1-9, 1981), because Segraves early narrowed his complaint to the "evolution taught dogmatically" issue. Sacramento Superior Court Judge Irving H. Perluss on March 6, 1981, rejected Segraves' equal time request but pleased creationists by ordering wider distribution of California School

Board's 1973 statement that evolution be taught as theory, not fact. Segraves claimed this victory as an "opening wedge that eventually will get creationism into science classes and evolution out." ("Creationists Limit Dogmatic Darwinism," *American School Board Journal*, May, 1981, pp. 17-18). A trial observer claimed that Segraves got for CSRC what he and other creationists wanted, "enormous publicity . . . [and] the stamp of legitimacy." (Siegel, Harvey, "Creationism, Evolution, and Education: The California Fiasco," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 63, No. 2, October, 1981, pp. 95-101). Said Segraves' lawyer Richard K. Turner, former legal aide to the then Governor Reagan, "We basically got what we wanted. We can fight other battles tomorrow." Mrs. Nell Segraves (Kelly Segraves' mother and a founder of CSRC) said, "We have a lot to undo. Creation/evolution is only the beginning." (Broad, *op. cit.*).

[24] Martinsburg *Evening Journal* (W. Va.), January 6, 1982.

[25] "Darwin Wins, Creationism 'is not Science,' " *Time*, Vol. 119, No. 3 (January 18, 1982), p. 63. Holsted's image was tarnished by accounts beginning with 1972 when his mother shot to death his father and herself. Holsted could not save the family drug store, had financial problems with a Chrysler dealership he bought, and was about to leave his family when his minister brother helped him become a "born-again Christian." After election to the state senate in 1978, his Chrysler dealership failed, and, heavily in debt, he allegedly took $130,000 from the family insurance business. After charges were brought late in 1981, he resigned from the Arkansas Senate early in 1982 rather than face trial. *(Chicago Tribune*, December 7, 1981; *Washington Post*, December 14, 1981, p. A3.)

[26] Moore, John A., "Dealing with Controversy: A Challenge to the Universities," *American Biology Teacher*, Vol. 41, No. 9 (December, 1979), pp. 544, 547, 551.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *New York Times*, January 5, 1982.

[30] Black, David, "The Creationists are Coming — Again," *NEXT* (March/April, 1981), pp. 64, 66, 67.

[31] Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, December 10 and 11, 1981; Detroit *Free Press*, December 10, 1981; *Washington Post*, December 10, 1981; *Chicago Sun-Times*, December 11, 1981; *Des Moines Register*, December 11, 1981; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 11, 1981.

[32] Mayer, *op. cit.*, bibliographical item no. 32.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Ibid.*, item no. 33.

[35] Mayer, William V., "The Impact of Evolution: Two Centuries of Science/Society Interaction," unpublished speech given March 30, 1981, Teilhard Centennial Forum on Evolution.

[36] "Resolutions of Learned Societies in the Textbook Controversy," *American Biology Teacher*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (January, 1973), p. 35.

[37] *NEA News*, July 2-7, 1981, p. 5.

[38] American Jewish Congress Commission on Law and Social Action *Reports*, January, 1981, p. 8.

PART II

The Politics of Urban Education

Out of the Cloister of the Classroom: Political Activity and the Teachers of Detroit, 1929-39

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I. Introduction

Public schools have frequently served as the arena for conflicts over civil liberties. Community and parental concerns about the school's power to shape values have often clashed with the perceived rights of teachers, students, and minority groups. Many of those confrontations have been classic examples of what Diane Ravitch has called "the combat of principle against principle, of one set of rights against another, of the strongly held interests of one group against those of another."[1] During the Great Depression, when many of America's most cherished values were fiercely called into question, civil liberties issues involving the schools ignited some heated controversies. Unfortunately our understanding of those controversies is at best ambiguous. Many of our perceptions of education in the thirties are colored by events such as the widespread introduction of loyalty oaths, the firings of married women teachers, and the silencing of divergent points of view both inside and outside the classroom. Two important books, Willard Waller's *The Sociology of Teaching* (1932) and Howard Beale's *Are American Teachers Free?* (1935), have been crucial in shaping those points of view, each leaving little doubt that during the 1930's conservatism and repression were standard features of the educational scene.[2] Robert Church has described the 1930's as the era in which protection of traditional values and the status quo became the most fervent goals of school leaders.[3] Yet as compelling as are these interpretations, an examination of a different set of Depression era events yields another quite striking vision of education in that tumultuous decade. No history of 20th century American education is complete without a discussion of George Counts' book, *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* (1932). Counts and the Frontier thinkers sincerely believed that teachers could be in the vanguard of a movement to reshape America's values and institutions.[4] William Eaton has described the years from 1935 to 1941 as "the critical period" in the development of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT).[5] In many cities across the nation teachers were actively involved in radical causes and sought great change both inside and outside the classroom. While some aspects of these events have been studied the focus of most historians has been almost exclusively national. This paper is an attempt to see how civil liberties issues were handled on the local level, in the public schools of Detroit. It will consider the one issue that most troubled that city's educational system: the politicization of Detroit's teachers.

In many ways Detroit is an ideal setting for a study of civil liberties issues in the 1930's. It was at that time America's fourth largest city and one of the leading manufacturing centers in the world.[6] By 1932, however, it was near total economic collapse. Sidney Fine states, "Detroit was the hardest hit big city in the nation during the Hoover years."[7] With hundreds of thousands unemployed, fears of Communist-inspired unrest and insurrection were rampant. From a Detroit suburb Father Coughlin broadcast his angry vilification of American capitalism and international Jewry. Yet during the worst of the Depression years Detroit's mayor, Frank Murphy (1930-33), distinguished himself as one of the nation's leading defenders of free speech and free assembly. He translated those attitudes into public policy and, during his administration, Detroit was probably more scrupulous in defense of those rights than any large city in the United States.[8] Following the Murphy years Detroit continued to command the attention of the nation as organized labor struggled to unionize the auto workers. In 1938, following the violent Flint sitdown strike, Martin Dies and his Committee on Un-American Activities spent several weeks investigating alleged Communist involvement in the United Auto Workers (UAW) *and* in the Detroit public schools.

During the thirties Detroit's schools enrolled over a quarter of a million students who were served by some 7,500 teachers. The system ran from kindergarten through graduate school (the Board of Education had authority over the city's five municipal colleges).[9] Public education in Detroit was a showcase of Progressive reforms in educational programs and educational politics. A seven-member Board of Education elected at-large in non-partisan elections had shaped school policy since 1917. As in other American cities, the shift away from a large, ward-based school board gave control of the schools to the city's social and economic elite, a pattern which continued throughout the 1930's.[10] The school board that dealt with most of the major civil liberties issues for the thirties had three men and one woman listed in the city's social register. They were A.D. Jamieson, a vice-president of the Union Guardian Trust Company, Dr. Angus McLean, Laura Osborn, widow of one of the city's most noted attorneys, and Dr. Burt Shurly.[11] Frank Gorman, a partner in an insurance firm, and John Webster, a pharmacist, were, in 1925, the first non-elite Detroiters to gain school board seats. Webster, in fact, had received the endorsement of the Detroit Federation of Labor (DFL), and Gorman was said to be "well thought of in labor circles."[12] Neither, however, disturbed the unanimity which marked most Board decisions in the late 1920's. The most notable addition to the Board came in April, 1929, when Edward Williams was elected. Williams was the first avowedly pro-labor candidate to win a Board seat and the Detroit *Labor*

News (the official organ of the DFL) saw his victory as a clear case of the people triumphing over the "interests."[13] Williams served until January, 1934, when he resigned to become Wayne County Auditor. He was replaced by Oscar Hull, an attorney who, unlike Williams, was listed in the city's social register. Except for that one change the composition of the Board remained the same throughout the Depression years.[14] Although the trustees did run on a non-partisan ballot the political affiliations of most were a matter of record. Jamieson, Hull, Osborn, Shurly, and Webster were Republicans. McLean and Williams were Democrats, with Williams belonging to the liberal Murphy wing of the party and McLean the more conservative faction.[15]

In general the Board's record on civil liberties issues was quite mixed. Edward Williams, who echoed the DFL line that a major way to end unemployment was to restrict entry into the workforce, presented the Board with numerous resolutions that called for the firing of aliens, non-Detroit residents, and married women. He was successful only in getting 73 non-citizens fired in March, 1930.[16] The Board never instituted a residency requirement and continued its policy of employing married women in the classroom (a policy which itself was exceptional during the 1930's).[17] The Board did ban the Communist Party and organizations the Board believed were "communistic" from using school buildings for their meetings. Detroit's Socialist Party, on the other hand, was permitted to use the schools, and weekend rallies in support of a variety of left wing causes such as the defense of Tom Mooney and the Scottsboro boys, were allowed to take place in school auditoriums.[18]

In regard to the constitutional rights of the trustees themselves the Board's decisions were also mixed. Frequent battles had flared up over the Prohibition issue between temperance advocate, Laura Osborn, and repeal proponent, Burt Shurly. Shurly had used his inaugural speech as President of the Board in July, 1929 to call for repeal and was promptly censured by the trustees for his statements. After a year of further bickering over the issue, the Board voted to forbid any "member of the Board to use his [sic] position in a Board meeting to expound his personal views on controversial questions that are not the business of the Board of Education."[19] Despite the policy another fierce verbal interchange between Osborn and Shurly broke out at a November, 1930 meeting. The "gag rule," rather than stifling debate, had itself become part of their arguments. They fought as bitterly over free speech as over temperance, and the trustees, in an attempt to defuse *that* issue, passed an amendment to the resolution. It stated that the Board "does not wish to abridge the right of anyone to the privilege of free speech and recognizes the right of any member to speak in the regular order of business on any subject that affects the welfare of the school system."[20] But the battles over prohibition continued for two more years and finally the Board admitted the futility of its "controversial issues" stand and, in early 1932, rescinded the resolution entirely.[21]

The Board's dealings with the civil rights of its teachers were, until 1931, only somewhat more consistent. A 1920 attempt by several teachers to organize a chapter of the American Federation of Teachers was quietly but quickly crushed. As Superintendent Frank Cody later explained,

> The teachers who participated were informally but officially notified that their contracts for the following year would be withheld if they became members of the teachers' union.[22]

Upton Sinclair, who devoted two chapters to Detroit in *The Goslings*, his 1924 expose of American education, uncovered several instances where Detroit teachers were fired for expressing unpopular political opinions.[23] Nevertheless, in the spring of 1929, when 36 teachers and administrators actively involved themselves in Frank Murphy's campaign for recorder's court judge, the Board made no attempt to disourage their efforts.[24] But neither were political activities by teachers encouraged. In 1930 when Superintendent Cody recommended that teachers pass out petitions on state reapportionment he was totally rebuffed by the Board. Trustee John Webster remarked "a teacher's time should be all for the pupil."[25] In short, prior to the Great Depression, Howard Beale's description that teachers "should be neutral and colorless, and upon becoming a teacher give up all active life as a citizen"[26] generally fit the situation in Detroit.

A decade later, however, the teachers' relations with the Board in regards to political action had dramatically changed. The salary cuts, the massive retrenchment, the desperate need for state aid had politicized education in Detroit to an unprecedented degree. By 1940 large numbers of politically involved school teachers were a fact of life in the motor city. Their activities ranged from lobbying in the state capital, to serving as political footsoldiers for "pro-school" candidates, to taking sides in the election of school board members. That shift was one of the most significant educational changes brought about by the Great Depression.

II. Educational Retrenchment and Political Action

A variety of circumstances contributed to the politicization of Detroit's teachers. The most immediate were the battles over educational retrenchment that engulfed the city from 1930 to 1933. During the thirties Detroit's Board of Education had only partial control over its own funds. Although the Board had full authority over how to allocate its resources, the Mayor and the Common Council had final approval over how much of the city's general tax revenue the Board was to receive. The Board had regularly complained of tight-fisted councilmen even in the prosperous twenties, but in the thirties the situation became desperate.[27] The Board's problems were compounded by the fact that Detroit was one of the few American cities to provide public relief to the unemployed. As unemployment grew and revenue from taxes shrank, the city was forced to divert huge sums from other municipal departments to keep the relief effort alive. The public schools were traditionally given the largest share of city taxes, and the school budget was seen as a major place where savings chould be made.[28]

Overseeing those retrenchment efforts was a committee of leading businessmen and bankers headed by Ralph Stone, Chairman of the Board of the Detroit Security Trust Company. The Committee on City Finance, more commonly known as the Stone Committee, began in 1930 as an advisory council to aid the city in its retrenchment efforts.[29] By late 1931, however, the Committee in general, and Stone in particular, had become enormously powerful. Tax delinquencies in Detroit had risen to the highest percentage of any major U.S. city. Loans from Detroit and New York banks became critical for keeping the city solvent, and Ralph Stone's approval was necessary in order to secure any such loans. Stone's one requirement was a balanced municipal budget.[30] Detroit was thus regularly forced to slash its budget, with the schools taking an enormous share of the cuts. Since teachers' salaries made up some 75 percent of school expenditures they were, as Trustee A.D. Jamieson put it, "an obvious source of substantial economy."[31] The battles over suspending the Board's salary schedule in 1930 and 1931 sounded the call to arms for the city's teachers.

Beginning in February, 1930, members of the Stone Committee had called for saving some $732,000 by eliminating the teachers' scheduled pay raise from the Board's 1930-31 budget. Unlike City Council, which had suspended its salary schedule at the behest of the Stone Committee, the school trustees unanimously voted to defy the businessmen refusing to drop the step increases. After several stormy budget hearings Council finally cut the $732,000 from their allocations to the schools and, in September, 1930, the Board of Eduction bowed to the inevitable and froze the teacher's salaries. In November, however, the Board received an unexpectedly large state aid check and found itself in the position of having the funds to grant the increase. Stone and the businessmen demanded they maintain their wage freeze. The issue attracted front-page coverage in all of Detroit's papers as various groups and individuals awaited the decision. It also inspired the first stirrings of political action on the part of Detroit's teachers.[33]

When the question of suspending the salary schedule first arose in the spring of 1930 Superintendent Frank Cody warned the Common Council that such a move could provoke militant political action by Detroit's 7,500 teachers. Cody had a sense of history in making his claim. The ill-fated attempt to organize Detroit's first AFT chapter in 1919 had come directly out of the battle to gain the salary schedule. It may well be that the Board's decision in 1920 to introduce step increases had as much to do with crushing the fledging union as did the threats of firings mentioned earlier. In any event, Cody's analysis was accurate. When the Board suspended the schedule in September angry teachers crowded the Board room and threatened political reprisals against the trustees.[34] Following the Board's about-face in deciding to grant the increases in November, the teachers began to put pressure on Mayor Murphy who had the power to veto the Board's action.[35] Delegations of teachers lobbied Murphy at city hall and one teacher was overheard saying to him, "If you approve this [the increase] there are 8,000 people in this town you can put your finger on any time you want them." In a move that infuriated the city's business leaders, Murphy let the raise go into effect.[36]

The teachers' actions went far beyond mere protests and lobbying. One of the leading advocates of freezing the teachers' wages was the Chairman of the Board of the J.L. Hudson Company, the city's leading department store. The Detroit *Labor News* reported that in November some 1,000 teachers responded to that stand by cancelling their Hudson's charges.[37] When the issue of suspending the salary increase arose again in the budget hearings in early 1931, Common Council members were inundated by hundreds of identical letters from Detroit teachers. The letters ended with what the Detroit *Free Press* called "veiled political threats" against those councilmen who might vote to cut funds earmarked for the increase.[38] On February 24, 1931, sixteen teachers met with Lillian Herstein, an AFT organizer, at the Northwest YMCA and founded the Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT). As in 1919 the salary issue had spurred the teachers to organize, but, having learned from the past the union members resolved to remain a secret, "underground" organization which they did until 1934 when the national and local mood seemed more receptive to the existence of public employee unions.[39]

While the creation of the DFT certainly had far-reaching consequences, at the time the city's attention was drawn to more immediate actions by Detroit's teachers. Frank Gorman and John Webster, two of the staunchest defenders of the salary schedule, came up for re-election in April, 1931. Because of Gorman's and Webster's stands on the pay increases, many teachers announced their support for the incumbants and worked actively on their behalf. Their efforts, which included offering cars to take voters to the polls, passing out campaign literature, and fund-raising, provoked an angry exchange between several Board members one week before the election. Edward Williams demanded an end to such activities and an investigation of them, indirectly accusing Gorman and Webster of using building principals to intimidate the teachers into working for the trustees' re-elections. "The school system should be free from politics of any kind," he declared. His colleagues, however, rejected those accusations and defended the teachers' right to get involved. As A.D. Jamieson put it, "Thank God we have a group of teachers civic minded enough to take a stand on this question."[40] Gorman's and Webster's main opponent in the race for the Board seats, Dr. Albert Krohn, was incensed over the teachers' activities. He saw it as a ploy by the Board members to perpetuate themselves in office by organizing the teachers into a political machine. Krohn predicted a "time when the children will be used as tools of the politicians."[41]

Similar fears were registered in the editorials of several of Detroit's leading newspapers. The very conservative Detroit *Free Press* was most vigorous in its condemnation of the teachers' actions. As early as October, 1930, the editors of the *Free Press* urged the dismissal of the teachers who protested the wage freeze, describing them as mercenary malcontents who were providing terrible examples of citizenship to their students.[42] But Mayor Murphy's approval of the step increases in November provoked their worst fears. "[I]t is quite understandable," they wrote, "why the Mayor considered his act of approval a piece of good politics. The 5,600 [sic] teachers will remember the special favor done for them, and they have votes."[43] By April, 1931, the *Free Press* editors were convinced that the teachers were combining into what they described as "Detroit's New Political Machine." They castigated the Board for sins of commission and omission in regards to the politicized teachers, noting

> Even in the old days when members of the board were chosen from the wards and the board itself was frankly up to its neck in politics, the town never saw anything more open and brazen than the present [activities by the teachers].[44]

The paper called for the defeat of Webster and Gorman.

The equally conservative weekly Detroit *Saturday Night*, which "spoke for and to the city's upper income groups,"[45] also denounced the teachers' actions. In a series of editorials that ran from February to April, 1931, the paper's editor deplored the politically active teachers whose involvement in the school board campaign "smack[ed] of machine politics."[46] That specter was also raised by Harvey Campbell, vice president of the Detroit Board of Commerce (the leading businessmen's group in the city) who claimed, "the school teachers have become organized into the greatest politcal machine in Detroit. . . ."[47] His words were echoed a few days later by Clarence L. Ayres, president of the Michigan Union League, an ultra-conservative businessman's organization with some ties to the city's Republican party. In a radio speech delivered one week before the school board election, Ayres called on the trustees to put an end to the teachers' activities that "have the effect of dragging our schools through the mire and degrading them to the level of ward and precinct politics."[48]

There can be little doubt that many in the city sincerely feared the emergence of a "Tammany Hall" political arrangement between the Board members and the teachers. The battle against the ward-based Board of Education, complete with accusations of rampant political corruption, was only 14 years in the past and served as a convenient rallying point for those who denounced the teachers' involvement in politics. But other factors figured in as well. The *Free Press*, Detroit *Saturday Night*, Harvey Campbell of the Board of Commerce, and Clarence Ayres (later president of the Economy League of Michigan) were among *the* most vocal advocates of educational retrenchment in the city. For the *Free Press* and the Board of Commerce, particularly, slashing teachers' wages was the most important step the Board could take to bring the city's educational budget into line. The prospect that several trustees would become politically indebted to the teachers had to be seen as making that step much more difficult. The result, they believed, would be a further hardening of the Board's position on the retrenchment issues. Finally, all of those newspapers, organizations, and individuals were passionate opponents of any form of independent, workers' organizations, in whatever form they might take, from political action groups to trade unions. Detroit *Saturday Night*, the Union League, and the Board of Commerce were fiercely anti-union, often regarding attempts to organize workers as Communist plots directed from Moscow.[49] The stirrings of political action on the part of the teachers contained enough hints of becoming a militant public employees movement (and ultimately a union) to cause them concern. The fact that the liberal Murphy administration was "tolerant of the unionization of public employees" only further added to their fears.[50]

Defenders of the teachers' actions, on the other hand, were few and far between. The two other daily papers in the city besides the *Free Press*, the Detroit *News* (the most influential and largest circulation paper in the city) and Hearst's Detroit *Times*, although defending the teachers' salary increases, took no stand, at this time, on the politically active teachers. Even the Detroit *Labor News* which had applauded such demonstrations of "class consciousness" as the teachers cancelling their Hudson's charge accounts made no mention of the debate concerning the teachers' activities.[51] The *Labor News* did, however, enthusiastically endorse both Webster and Gorman and it applauded their re-election.[52] In the end, the only powerful support the politically active teachers received came from the trustees. Countering the "Tammany Hall" charges the Board members doggedly insisted that the teachers' actions were not directed from above. They argued that the teachers were merely exercising their constitutional rights and were providing excellent models of citizenship for their students.[53] With that stand the Board members were not only defending cherished principles but were also cultivating the loyalty of essential political allies. The 7,500 teachers were a potent political force whose "muscle" could be applied against pro-retrenchment city councilmen. In the face of what many trustees believed were potentially crippling budget cuts the encouragement of politically active school teachers must have seemed like a necessary and reasonable stand. Before 1931 drew to a close, however, some trustees began to fear that an uncontrollable genie had been loosed from its bottle.

III. The Free Speech Controversy

One main focus of Howard Beale's investigation in *Are American Teachers Free?* was "the question of the teacher's advocacy of unorthodox causes outside of the classroom and his engaging in unpopular activities based upon his convictions. . . ."[54] Despite some notable exceptions Beale's conclusions were that "Teachers are rarely free to hold extreme political views." He did find that in the early 1930's school boards in large cities tended to be more tolerant of unorthodox opinions than those in other parts of the country. Detroit provides an excellent opportunity to test those conclusions.[55]

In the fall of 1931 trustee Burt Shurly (a veteran of the Spanish American War and an active member of the American Legion)[56] succeeded in having the Board include a ROTC program in the City College of Detroit.[57] Several months later, Victor Reuther, who was a student at City College, asked Dr. Walter Bergman to speak at a meeting of the League for Industrial Democracy (LID) on the subject of ROTC.[58] Bergman was a professor at Detroit's Teacher's College and, like Shurly, was a veteran. He had served as a flier in the First World War and was also active in the American Legion but the Thomas Jefferson post which Bergman commanded was probably the only pacifist Legion post ever organized.[59] Although precisely what Bergman said in his speech to the LID is uncertain, there is no doubt that he denounced "militarism" at City College as a violation of the spirit of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, and he urged the students to pass out "petitions demanding immediate dissolution of ROTC."[60] Shurly, who had sent a "scout" to report on the speech, was outraged by the statements. "Dr. Bergman's lecture was seditious and unpatriotic in the extreme," he declared, and he vowed to have Bergman fired at the next meeting of the Board.[61] Patriotism, however, was not Shurly's only motive. He was, at the time, planning to run for Congress and, undoubtedly, saw this as a marvelous opportunity for free publicity.[62] Indeed, for the next week his actions dominated the headlines.

The controversy was only one piece of a larger struggle taking place over the issues of free speech and free assembly in Detroit. Soon after taking office in 1930 Mayor Frank Murphy had declared that under his administration he wished Detroit to become "notable" for its protection of those freedoms.[63] Over the next year Murphy introduced an informal arrangement that permitted demonstrations by all groups, including the

Communists, first at City Hall itself, and then at Grand Circus Park. The arrangement was put to a major test in late November, 1931, when two Communist-led demonstrations provoked clashes with the police, who had to use clubs and tear gas to disperse the crowds.[64] On December 4, the day of Bergman's speech, the Mayor's office and the police department announced a new free speech policy which demanded police permits for parades and advertised meetings at Grand Circus Park. The policy still permitted all other meetings and demonstrations to be held in public parks and places with only "reasonable notice" being given the police.[65] The Detroit chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) was delighted with the policy. But the city's conservatives, who had opposed Murphy's initiatives all along, were appalled. The *Free Press* blasted the move which its editors claimed was "a virtual invitation to disgruntled elements to make city hall their headquarters."[66] A few months later Detroit *Saturday Night* used the Mayor's free speech policy as evidence that Murphy was a Communist dupe.[67]

Burt Shurly's attack on Walter Bergman fits neatly into the pattern of those events. Bergman was part of the liberal "Murphy crowd." The previous year he had been the executive secretary of Murphy's main relief agency, the Mayor's Unemployment Committee.[68] The battle over Bergman at the school board, coming as it did in the midst of the general free speech controversy, could certainly be seen as another test of strength between Mayor Murphy and Detroit's conservatives. As Burt Shurly stated,

> We had this thing licked once in Detroit, but now, under the patronage of Mayor Murphy, the propaganda is creeping back again, and it is time for another fight.[69]

In the days leading up to the Board meeting the controversy commanded front-page coverage in Detroit's papers. The American Legion condemned Bergman's remarks and began the process of disbanding the Thomas Jefferson post.[70] Shurly announced on December 6 that 12 additional teachers would face dismissal as radicals, but abandoned the attempted purge the following day. Oswald Harrison Villard, editor of *The Nation*, offered to come to Detroit and debate Shurly on the issue of militarism.[71] The city's Congregational Ministers' Association deplored the presence of ROTC at City College. They also demanded an investigation into charges that the "Shurly scout" at the LID meeting was part of a school board "espionage system" designed to keep tabs on radical teachers.[72] Laura Osborn, who had led the movement to censure Shurly on the prohibition question and who was the only trustee to vote against ROTC, announced that she would vigorously defend Bergman: "Dr. Shurly is as wrong on this as he has been on prohibition," she remarked.[73] Bergman himself announced that he would attend the meeting

> . . . to state that I have the right as an American citizen to express my views on any subject. I did not make the statements in a classroom and I believe I am within my rights in holding personal opinions about military training in the schools.[74]

The Board meeting of December 8, 1931, was an extraordinary event. Approximately 125 spectators jammed the room, "the largest attendence to grace a board meeting in years." Most of those attending were Bergman partisans "who cheered all speeches in his favor lustily and occasionally hissed an opponent." The meeting began with Shurly reading an 11-point resolution that called for Bergman's dismissal on the grounds his speech to the students "intended to develop antipathy, disloyalty, revolt, insurrection, and riot against the United States Government and the educational system that advocates elective military training." Shurly's remarks were occasionally interrupted by "shrill laughter from the audience." The resolution was seconded by Angus McLean, but was immediately superceded by a substitute resolution proposed by Edward Williams.[75]

Williams, the only trustee to oppose political activity by the teachers seven months earlier, made a dramatic about-face on the free speech issue. Adddressing the crowd with what the *Labor News* called a "stentorian voice," Williams moved

> . . . that it be the sense of this Board of Education that teachers may feel free to discuss and to express their honest opinion, outside of the classroom, upon all subjects including social, economic and political questions without fear of official reprimand or coercion on the part of any one connected with the Board of Education.[76]

That resolution was seconded by John Webster. With both resolutions on the floor, the entire matter was thrown open to debate and a number of spectators were allowed to come forward and address the Board. The array of individuals and organizations supporting Bergman was truly impressive. It included Frank X. Martel, the president of the Detroit Federation of Labor, representattives of the ACLU, the Wayne County League of Women Voters, the Detroit Congregational Association, the American Association of University Women, several clergymen, two judges, and the attorney, Larry Davidow.[77] The *Labor News* described the Board meeting as "the most splendid gathering of the leaders of liberal thought the city has ever seen."[78] The statements presented generally stressed the idea that teachers had a constitutional right to express their views outside the classroom: "Shall we say," argued Judge Patrick O'Brien, "that a man or woman must surrender independence of thought upon becoming a teacher and act merely as a parrot, reciting what the Board of Education dictates?"[79]

Shurly's supporters, on the other hand, were thoroughly outnumbered.

Only two people from the audience spoke on behalf of his original resolution. One was from the Reserve Officers' Association who questioned whether the Kellogg pact had replaced the Constitution as the law of the land, while the other, from the American Party, insinuated that the entire affair was a Socialist-Communist plot.[80]

The trustees debate was especially spirited. Angus McLean vigorously supported the resolution to fire Bergman, but he was Shurly's only ally on that matter. Board President A.D. Jamieson attacked both resolutions but clearly felt that Williams' was the more dangerous of the two. "I don't see," he declared, "how Dr. Bergman can be Professor Bergman of the City College and responsible to the Board for what he says at 8:00 and be Mr. Bergman and free to express his personal opinions to students at 9:00. . . . I think the resolution is dangerous. It opens the door wide to consequences that may be grave and serious."[81] The Board members who defended Bergman, Trustees Gorman, Osborn, Webster and Williams, responded that the teachers' responsibility to the Board did, in fact, end at the close of the school day. The teachers' right to express their political views, they argued, were protected by the constitution. Several also referred to the Board's heated battles over free speech and prohibition, reminding Shurly of his impassioned defense of free speech when he was censured. Shurly's past came back to haunt him.

Sensing that his cause was lost, Shurly attempted to salvage at least something from his original motion. He offered an amendment to Williams' resolution which would have barred the teachers from speaking "against the Government or the Board of Education."[82] The amendment died for lack of a second. In the end, the motion to fire Bergman was never voted on *and* when the tally was taken on Williams' substitute, both Shurly and Angus McLean abandoned their stands and voted in favor of free speech for teachers. Only Jamieson held out in opposition. For the city's liberals it was a grand victory. Bergman, who had attended the meeting but had not spoken, was thronged by well-wishers.[83]

The triumph, however, appeared to be shortlived. Soon after, it was announced that at the next Board meeting the free speech resolution would be brought up for reconsideration. On December 22nd the Board again met before an overflow crowd.[84] Shurly opened the session reading an opinion from Detroit's Assistant Corporation Counsel that questioned the constitutionality of the Board's December 8th resolution, on the grounds that it appeared to allow teachers to make seditious statements. Jamieson called for reconsidering the free speech resolution and he sought to introduce a new one that affirmed the Board's adherence to freedom of speech but qualified the teachers' rights so that they would not "interfere with the authority of the Board of Education." Shurly and Jamieson argued that the December 8th resolution permitted teachers to advocate such ideas as atheism, free love and birth control. Their stand was applauded by Harvey Campbell from the Board of Commerce who told the trustees, "Nobody opposes free speech but many persons oppose abuse of it. Free speech DOES have limits."[85]

The liberals had once again marshalled their forces. Many of the speakers who had appeared two weeks before returned to argue their points again before the Board. Frank Martel and Campbell exchanged insults and Dr. Frank Adams, a Universalist minister who had given a powerful speech at the first meeting, rose and recommended psychoanalysis for those Board members who appeared to be preoccupied with the subject of free love. Edward Williams produced a "thick sheaf of letters and telegrams" from people who supported the Board's earlier stand. It included messages from Dr. C.C. Little, former president of the University of Michigan, Arthur Garfield Hayes, Henry Linville, president of the AFT, and John Dewey. The Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Detroit chapter of Phi Delta Kappa also added their endorsements.[86]

The vote on reconsideration was one of the few that split the Board neatly along what were ostensibly liberal and conservative lines. Jamieson, McLean, and Shurly voted for the change while Gorman, Osborn, Webster, and Williams opposed the move and, in so doing, left the earlier resolution intact.[87] The issue of free speech for teachers, for the time being, was settled.

The issue had awakened a great deal of interest throughout Detroit, and it naturally attracted a considerable amount of editorial attention in the city's papers. The *Free Press* fully supported Shurly and attacked Bergman as a man who was using his position of public trust to mislead youth, thereby doing "the country a dangerous injury."[88] Detroit *Saturday Night* shared these sentiments and after the passage of the free speech resolution, its acerbic editor proclaimed:

> The lid is off. It should be no long time till some Communist school teacher who has been keeping his or her real ideas under cover assembles the boys and girls to hear the soviet [sic] gospel of revolution preached on public property by an individual living on the public payroll.[89]

Anticipating the battle over reconsideration, *Saturday Night's* editor added that teachers advocating atheism and free love would soon be twisting young minds with their ideas. Both papers subscribed to what Willard Waller identified as the belief that teachers, as publicly supported "agents of cultural diffusion," had to conform to the general orthodoxes of the community.[90]

The editors of the Detroit *Times* were torn between conflicting loyalties over the issue. The *Times* was a staunchly pro-Murphy paper that had

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heartily endorsed the Mayor's free speech intiatives. But it was also strongly in favor of increased military preparedness and by implication supported ROTC. The *Times'* editors thus chose to denounce both Bergman and Shurly, the former for his pacifism and the latter for his political ambition, which it was felt was at the heart of the entire matter. They argued that Shurly's search for headlines in his congressional race had led him to run roughshod over Bergman's inalienable rights.[91] The Detroit *Labor News* also saw Shurly's political ambitions involved in the controversy, but came out unequivocally in support of Bergman and the Board's free speech policy. It enthusiastically defended the rights of teachers to hold unpopular views and applauded Edward Williams' resolutions. Following the reconsideration vote the paper's editors wrote:

> The Board of Education is to be commended for its stand, and the action taken should be evidence enough that any attempt made to curtail free speech or jeopardize human liberty will not be tolerated by the progressive members of the Board of Education.[92]

The most overwhelming response to the Board's actions, however, came from the teachers themselves. In the days immediately following the first Board meeting Laura Osborn received over forty letters praising her stand on the issue. Some came from organizations such as the Detroit Teachers Association (DTA) but most were from individual women teachers who saw the vote as a vindication of their constitutional rights. As one woman put it:

> Please accept a teacher's deep appreciation for the action you have taken in regards to freedom of speech, outside the classroom, for teachers. I begin to feel that I am really a citizen as well as a teacher.[93]

The school board's free speech stand was a clear victory for Detroit's liberals. Coming in the midst of Frank Murphy's battles over similar issues the enthusiastic support from so many individuals and organizations must have been as heartening to them as it was surprising and discouraging to their opponents. But their victory was hardly accidental. Once Shurly had announced his intentions to make an issue of the anti-ROTC speech, Bergman's supporters gathered an impressive array of defenders and generally set the tone of the debate. They quickly succeeded in defining the conflict as one between free speech and repression. They rested their arguments on constitutional rights and, except for occasional attempts to turn the Board meetings into a forum on pacifism, they generally kept the debate strictly to that point. Even pacifism, however, worked to Bergman's advantage. It appealed to a wide array of nonradical organizations and the Kellogg Pact had provided a legitimacy to Bergman's views that seemed to come directly from the White House. This is not to say that espousing pacifist ideals was either safe or uncontroversial. Howard Beale amply documented numerous cases (some almost identical to Bergman's) in which teachers were fired for making pacifist statements.[94] But in a cosmopolitan, urban center such as Detroit, advocating pacifism was far less radical than speaking out for communism or, free love. Had Bergman's speech been on a more volatile subject it is quite possible the Board's actions would have been different.

On the other side of the issue, it was apparent throughout the controversy that Shurly and his supporters were far less organized than their opponents. Indeed, his grab for headlines seems to have had far more effect in drawing Bergman's supporters to the Board meetings than in convincing Detroiters that a radical threat was poised at school house doors. Little appears to have been done to mobilize support for Shurly's position in the early stages of the controversy. The two speakers who originally testified on behalf of the resolution to fire Bergman probably did more harm than good to Shurly's cause and by the time such speakers as Harvey Campbell were brought into the debate the battle was already lost. Even Shurly's 11-point resolution calling for Bergman's dismissal was a poorly conceived, rambling document. After Shurly had read the resolution to the Board, Jamieson asked if he wanted to strike one of the paragraphs noting that it contradicted the rest of the statements. He refused.[95]

Shurly was the wrong man to lead the fight. It seems unlikely that he anticipated the angry response his actions would arouse and his capitulation before the jeering crowd appears to have been a total failure of nerve. Only A.D. Jamieson demonstrated a clear sense of where the conservatives could make a determined stand. During the reconsideration debate Jamieson attempted to redefine the issue by questioning whether teachers had the special responsibilities as "molders of youth," whether their actions outside of class could influence that role, and if reasonable limits should be put on their behavor. Those were serious questions but Shurly's original vendetta doomed any effort to see them debated fairly. At one point in the discussion Laura Osborn blasted Shurly for having rushed into print with matters that demanded the calm and quiet deliberation of the Board.[96] Those words probably expressed the sentiments of his allies as well.

The Board of Education's free speech resolution was an extraordinary document that marked a turning point in the history of education in Detroit. The political arena was now fully open to the city's teachers and they quickly availed themselves of the opportunity. Teacher activism ranged from working on school-related issues to involvement in radical organizations. In the spring of 1933 Walter Bergman ran as the Socialist Party's candidate for State Superintendent of Public Instruction.[97] As we shall see, despite some powerful challenges to the free speech policy the Board remained committed to the December 8th resolution throughout the rest of the politically charged decade.

IV. "The Political School Teacher is a Public Enemy"

It was not long before Detroit's teachers took advantage of the opportunities provided by the free speech resolution. Within a year the Detroit *Times* reported on a new, militant mood amongst the city's teachers reflected in the Detroit Teachers Association (DTA) presidential elections. Like most National Education Association affiliates, the DTA had been largely controlled by the system's administrators. In 1932, however, E.W. McFarland, a professor at City College, won the DTA presidency in what the *Times* saw as an insurrection against the old guard.[98] McFarland set a more activist tone for the organization, urging its members to get involved in political campaigns, particularly on the state level where the battle for increased state aid was beginning to take on major importance.[99] But, as controversial and far-reaching as was that entry into state politics, it was overshadowed at the time by a resurgence of teacher activism in the 1933 school board election in which the DTA took no official stand but which drew the support of DTA members. In the grim winter of that year a group of teachers initiated a bold move to unseat Burt Shurly and A.D. Jamieson, who were up for re-election in April.[100]

The teachers' efforts to oust Shurly and Jamieson were based on several factors. No doubt the two men's opposition to the free speech resolution contributed to the teachers' antipathy, but more important was their stand on the massive cutbacks in the school budget that had been implemented in 1932. In that year as the city's financial situation worsened, Ralph Stone and the Citizen's Finance Committee forced the Board to reduce its budget by over 30 percent. Teachers' wages, which accounted for nearly three quarters of the schools' expenses, bore the brunt of the cutbacks and were reduced almost 25 percent. Shurly, Jamieson, and McLean were regularly joined by Webster and Gorman in voting for those cutbacks with Osborn and Williams the only consistent dissenters.[101] Because of Shurly's and Jamieson's apparent willingness to accede to Stone's demands (and because of Jamieson's position as a bank vice president), the *Labor News* labeled the two men as the "bankers faction" on the Board and accused them of placing the interests of banks above those of the schools.[102] With the collapse of Detroit's major banks in February, 1933, anti-business sentiment grew, and the time seemed right to many teachers to elect trustees with fewer ties to the city's corporate and financial leadership.

The impetus for that effort came from members of the Detroit Federation of Teachers. The DFT was still an "underground" organization but a Saturday study group that met at a neighborhood YMCA served as a weekly caucus for the union. In the early months of 1933 it was also the forum from which the challenge to unseat the incumbants was mounted.[103] In February and March members of the study group directed a campaign to place two candidates on the school board ballot, Charles Lockwood, an attorney, and Lola Jeffries Hanahan, a former teacher and daughter of Judge Edward Jeffries, one of the city's leading liberals.[104] Only Lockwood polled enough votes in the March primary to qualify and in the weeks leading up to the April election the study group worked diligently on his behalf. Directed by DFT president Ethan Edloff, the pro-Lockwood teachers organized a system of ward captains, door-to-door canvassing, and handbill distribution. The only limit the teachers put on their efforts was the decision not to campaign in the schools.[105]

Public reaction about the teachers' involvement in the primary was swift and angry. The Detroit *News*, the most influential paper in the city, denounced the teachers' actions in a powerful editorial entitled "The Political School Teacher is a Public Enemy." Invoking the spirit of the Progressive era the paper's editors declared, "[T]here was a time in the history of Detroit when the public school system was putrid with politics." They saw the teachers' activities either as an attempt to return to that corrupt system or as having the "more ominous purpose" of "controlling the very government of education in this community." They called for an immediate end to the political actions, noting that the efficency of Detroit's schools "can rest only on the basis of a loyal, competent teaching staff which devotes itself *exclusively* to the high purpose for which it was formed" (emphasis added). The editorial also urged the firings of those involved.[106]

Following a flurry of letters protesting the editorial, the *News* ran another commentary several days later on "Political School Teachers." In less impassioned tones the editors dismissed charges that they had urged "the disenfranchisement of the teachers and the virtual denial of their citizenship" and instead denounced a "cabal" within the schools that was supposedly orchestrating the political activities. "The cabal . . ." they wrote, "is alleged to run from the Detroit Teachers College to a certain labor leader by way of city hall. . . ." The "cabal" was obviously the Detroit Federation of Teachers which included several Teachers College professors (including Walter Bergman), while the labor leader was certainly Frank Martel and the city hall reference was a slap at Frank Murphy.[107] What the second editorial reveals is that the *News* was not merely attacking political school teachers but that it was firing an initial volley at the prospect of a teachers' union in traditionally "open shop" Detroit.

In a rare display of editorial solidarity the *Free Press* quoted the *News* in its attack on "Teachers in Politics." The editors of the *Free Press* lashed out at the "clique" of school teachers who were trying to gain control of the school board. Behind the plot they also saw the long arm of Frank Martel, claiming,

> There is a well defined report of a connection between the clique and a leader of the Detroit Federation of Labor who already has one school inspector [Edward Williams] under his influence and is planning to run things at Board headquarters if he gets the chance.[108]

The bitterly anti-union editor of Detroit *Saturday Night* penned the most vehement attack on the political teachers. He saw the whole episode as another example of corrupt municipal employees attempting to gain power over city government and the public purse. "If political school teachers can control school officials," he wrote, "they too will be better able to get what they want in employment and pay." It did not surpise him that the ringleaders were from the city's Teachers College, which he dismissed as a "hotbed of radicalism," or that the entire affair was "hooked up with the Martel Federation of Labor."[109]

The fears about teacher unionsim were also taken quite seriously by at least one major business organization, the Employers Association of Detroit. As "the spearhead of the open shop forces in the city,"[110] the Employers Association had been active for almost three decades in strike breaking and other anti-union activities.[111] On March 1, 1933 just prior to the school board primary, Chester Culver, the general manager of the Employers Association, sent out a letter to the organization's members. He noted the strong effort being made to defeat Shurly and Jamieson by people who hope "to elect in their places those who will support the organization of the teachers by the A.F. of L." In urging the Associatoon's members to aid in the trustees' re-election, Culver stated: "Dr. Shurly and Mr. Jamieson have demonstrated their ability to stand against the forces of radicalism and have given the city able and disinterested service which should be recognized." Attached to the letter was a copy of the Detroit *News* editorial, "The Political School Teacher is a Public Enemy."[112]

As in 1931, the city's business leaders and its most conservative newspapers were vigorous in their attacks on the political teachers. Although they were joined in 1933 by the influential and usually pro-teacher Detroit *News*, the arguments used had changed little from those of two years earlier. The essential positions that teachers should remain in the "cloister of the classroom,"[113] that they were forming a potentially corrupt political machine, and that they were led by union agitators, were almost identical to those used when the teachers had supported Webster and Gorman. What *had* changed was the intensity of the opposition and the sharply focused attack on the suspected union leadership of the campaign. Nowhere is that more apparent than in the entry of the Employers Association into the arena of educational politics. Having paid no attention to school board elections in the past, the Employers Association acted in this case because of the possibility of union activity in the Detroit schools. Union busting was the *raison d'etre* of the Association and its actions in the campaign were a natural consequence of that fact.

The vehemence of the stand taken by the Employers Association and the Detroit *News* is not surprising, when viewed in the context of the times. In the winter of 1933 Detroit's economy was in a shambles. With the city's bank collapse setting off a chain reaction of bank closings across the nation questions of the quality of business leadership grew fierce and angry. Father Coughlin redoubled his vitriolic crusade against the bankers in speeches before Detroit audiences as well as in his nationally broadcasted radio sermons.[114] More ominous to Detroit's business leaders were the wave of Communist-led strikes that began in January with the violent shutdown of the Briggs Manufacturing Company, a Ford subsidiary.[115] Detroit workers were beginning to listen the messages of labor organizers with renewed interest. Faced with such threats, the leaders and supporters of the "open shop" policy could only respond to the prospect of union inroads into the teaching profession with alarm, anger and a concerted effort to crush the movement.

Facing such determined opposition from its arch enemies the Detroit Federation of Labor surprisingly took no stand on the issue of politically active teachers. The *Labor News* did urge the defeat of Shurly and Jamieson, who, it claimed, "placed the interests of the bankers ahead of the school children,"[116] but the paper did not officially endorse Charles Lockwood. Perhaps the paper's editors thought it best to stay aloof from the battle, hoping to defuse the accusations of DFL wire-pulling. In any case neither the teachers nor their candidate received visable aid from their most obvious allies. The teachers did receive editorial support from the short-lived Detroit *Leader*, official organ of the city's Socialist Party. Walter Bergman and one other DFT member were on the editorial board of the paper and obviously influenced that stand.[117] The *Leader* condemned the "vicious attack" by the *News* against the city's teachers and defended freedom of political action as "a principle dear to the hearts of the American people." The editorial saw teachers as no different from any other professional groups that could freely express political opinions without being labeled as "public enemies."[118] The *Leader's* editorial, however, was the only support the teachers received from any Detroit paper. As in 1931, the teachers had few allies in asserting their rights to be politically active.

Three letters to the editor of the Detroit *News* that appeared several days after the "public enemy" editorial offer a hint as to feelings of the teachers on the issue. Each defended the right of teachers to be politically involved and denounced the *News* for its attempt to deny teachers their fundamental democratic rights. One of the letters was signed by Huldah Fine, an elementary school teacher active in the DFT.

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> Teachers, too long, have been content to be preached at and have submitted too easily to the idealism and negative ethics of newspaper critics and the tactics of those who control the pursestrings. They are to be congratulated on having arrived at the point where they will individually and collectively interest themselves in every phase of life, whether it be political or otherwise. They have no intention, either, of being deterred by News [sic] editorials.[119]

Compared to the controversy swirling around the issue the campaign and election were almost anticlimatic. The campaign received strikingly little coverage in Detroit's papers with Shurly and Jamieson getting the lion's share of what coverage there was in all the city's dailies. Both men totally ignored the issue of political school teachers (unlike Lockwood who made support of the teachers part of his platform)[120] and concentrated instead on explaining the massive retrenchment actions taken by the Board. They also defended the system's "fads and frills" courses against the challenges of their other opponent, Edward Kowalczyk.[121] Like Shurly and Jamieson, Kowalczyk did not take a public stand on the issue of political teachers. Lockwood tried to draw the incumbents out by attacking the school cutbacks Shurly and Jamieson had approved. Attempting to capitalize on the hostility toward the city's bankers after the bank collapse Lockwood lashed out at Jamieson for alleged conflict of interests.[122] Jamieson was a vice president of one of the two major failed banks and Lockwood stated,

> I feel that no individual who represents the banks or other creditors who are attempting to obtain the city's revenue can at the same time properly represent the school system which must have part of that revenue in order to function.[123]

Despite such rhetorical appeals and the determined efforts of the teachers, Lockwood fell well short of unseating either Jamieson or Shurly. In the election Shurly led all candidates with 154,721 votes, Jamieson followed with 132,346, Lockwood polled 104,225, and Kowalczyk trailed the pack with 55,536.[124] If those results are taken as a referendum on political activity by school teachers, the message sent to the teachers was that a sizable majority of the Detroit voters disapproved of such actions. The voters' opposition to the activist teachers may well have been augmented by the presence on the ballot of a charter amendment to bring back a ward-based city council. The *Free Press*, the *News*, and such civic groups at the Detroit Citizen's League had waged a vigorous campaign in opposition to the proposal.[125] All had stressed the idea that a return to the ward system would usher in a new era of political corruption and patronage. Some of the rhetoric surrounding the issue of politically active school teachers, fears of "Tammany Hall" and "machine politics" was almost identical to that which was used concerning the charter amendment. It would certainly have been an easy matter for Detroit voters to link the fears about returning to a "corrupt ward system" with the accusations of political intrigue on the part of the teachers. The charter proposal was soundly defeated (by over a two-to-one margin) and it is quite likely that that issue helped draw out pro-Shurly and Jamieson voters.[126]

As disappointed as the Lockwood supporters must have been there were still some reasons for optimism. Lockwood had polled over 100,000 votes indicating a substantial base of support for his positions, and by implication support for politically active teachers. A majority of the Board members still favored the free speech policy and there could be little doubt that any attempt at reprisals against the teachers would have been met with protests. But more important than either of those considerations was the growing awareness amongst educators that political action, particularly in Lansing, was vital to insure the preservation of Michigan's public schools. As a result of the Depression local school finance in the state was in chaos. By early 1933 the state's educational leadership was strongly urging teachers to get involved in state-level politics in order to work for increased school aid. It was obvious to the teachers that Board members and administrators could not condone one form of political activity while outlawing another. The political school teacher was to be a mainstay of educational politics for the rest of the decade.

V. *"Politics Have Come to Us"*

In the 1930's the single most important event affecting school politics and finance in Michigan was the November, 1932 passage of a constitutional amendment to limit property taxes to 15 mills. In 1932 property taxes accounted for nearly 65 percent of all educational revenues in the state.[127] Prior to the limitation the tax rate averaged about 32 mills of which approximately one-third went to the schools. By limiting the maximum rate to 15 mills local funding for education was almost cut in half.[128] The passage of the amendment sent tremors throughout Michigan's educational system and quickly galvinized efforts to get teachers active in state and local politics.

Nowhere was that trend more apparent or pronounced than in the pages of the *Michigan Education Journal*, the official voice of the Michigan Education Association (MEA). In the years leading up to 1932 the MEA rarely, if ever, urged teachers to take an active part in politics. But with the passage of the 15-mill limit the politicization of teachers became a vital concern for the Association. Beginning in November, 1932, the *Michigan Education Journal* began to regularly carry articles urging teachers to get politically active.[129] In December the teachers were urged to "spread the gospel of evolutionary change," "to organize for saving the schools," and to "militantly support" tax reform.[130] In the same issue the lead editorial applauded teachers who had directed the fight against the 15-mill limit in their communities and vowed that the MEA would mobilize its forces to obtain adequate funding for the schools.[131]

In Detroit the MEA's affiliate, the Detroit Teachers Association, boldly entered the political arena. Writing in the *Michigan Education Journal*, DTA President McFarland, lashed out at selfish interests who opposed politcal activity by teachers, declaring "We have not gone into politics, politics have come to us."[132] In January, 1933, McFarland announced the opening of a DTA petition drive designed to gather over more than 200,000 signatures in support of a state sales tax to provide new revenues for the schools. Each of Detroit's teachers were to obtain 30 signatures. Indicative of the changes that had occurred in three years was the fact that these petitions (unlike the reapportionment ones of 1930) were passed out with the endorsement of the Detroit Board of Education.[133] Indeed, Trustee John Webster, who had firmly opposed extracurricular political activities in 1930, wrote to the DTA in late 1933 that teachers should get active particularly in lobbying legislators for increased school aid.[134]

In 1933, the DTA began to publish the *Detroit Teachers Association News* (later called the *Detroit Education News*), a biweekly newspaper which presented, throughout most of the decade, a regular account of the legislative battles in Lansing and frequent exhortations for Detroit's teachers to take political initiatives. The paper supported what it termed the "united front," in which school board members, administrators, and teachers all pulled together for the good of the schools.[135] By early 1934, the paper reported on the first successful results of that coalition, the passage of several school revenue bills to provide both emergency and long-term aid. Members of the DTA legislative committee had united with the state superintendent in drafting one of the bills and were viewed as having been instrumental in lobbying for the passage of another.[136]

Beyond initiating legislation the DTA also played a major role in opposing efforts by various groups to cut the levels of state support for education. Some of the most notable activities concerned two constitutional amendments to remove the sales tax from gasoline and automobiles (both advocated by the automobile industry) on the 1934 ballot. Each amendment, it was argued, would have cut state revenues generally and would have ultimately decreased state support for education. The 5,000 teachers who attended a mass MEA/DTA conference in October, 1934, were greeted with handbills and huge posters urging them to work for the defeat of the amendments. Each teacher was asked to donate to a political action fund for that purpose.[137] Speakers addressed the audience and "served notice that political action is no longer taboo in the cloistered groves of Academe." The Detroit *News* noted "Michigan's teachers are 'in politics' this fall and they have no apologies to make."[138] The defeat of the amendments heartened the DTA and provided ample justification for the entry of school teachers into politics.[139] In addition, the foundations of an effective political organization had been laid. In 1936 and again in 1938, with new constitutional amendments that threatened school revenues on the ballot, the DTA easily and eagerly re-entered the political arena.[140] By 1936, contributions for political action were common (the *Detroit Education News* reported that more than 90 percent of Detroit's teachers had contributed in the 1936 campaign). Teachers volunteered to speak before civic organizations and served as foot-soldiers in the campaigns.[141]

Needless to say the appearance of a new political force in state politics generated its share of controversy. Interest groups that supported particular amendments blasted the MEA and the DTA for their activities.[142] Business leaders were appalled at the educators' campaign to introduce new taxes, especially the sales tax, which they felt would stifle economic recovery. The Michigan Manufacturers Association and the Detroit Board of Commerce spearheaded the attacks on the educators and their proposals.[143] The Detroit *Free Press* condemned the 1933 DTA petition drive as a foolish waste of time.[144] The paper's editors argued in 1934 that the teachers' opposition to the tax-cutting amendments was the result of their political naiveté. The *Free Press* simply believed the teachers were "being used as dupes" by special interests.[145] Most ominous to the editors of the *Free Press* were reports that teachers, in their excessive zeal, were haranguing students on the necessity to defeat the measures and even offering children "extra credit" as a reward for getting their parents to "vote right."[146] Detroit *Saturday Night* also railed against the growing power of the educators. The defeat of the 1934 amendments, its editor wrote, "can be charged to the campaign of misrepresentation in which the school teachers played a prominent part."[147] By 1934 attacking the "public school lobby" with its excessive demands for money had become routine for *Saturday Night*.[148] Those attacks on the teachers' activities, while coming from virtually the same sources that had denounced the political teachers in early 1933 were, in fact, quite different. The organized teachers were not viewed as conspiratorial villains probably because there was no hint of union leadership. Rather they were seen as other-worldly, bumblers led astray by the unscrupulous. The pervasive tone was condescension not anger and the none too subtle message was that the teachers' place was in the classroom.

No other newspapers in Detroit appear to have been concerned with the state level activities of the teachers. Several organizations, however, most significantly the Detroit Parents and Teachers Association and a coalition of a dozen prominent women's organizations, the Detroit Council on Public Education, endorsed the DTA's activities.[149] The Council, which was set up specifically to lobby Detroit's Common Council and the state legislature for increased appropriations, included the DTA in all its deliberations.[150] Despite such support the teachers frequently felt the need to justify their entry into politics. The *Michigan Education Journal*, for example, reprinted statements by famous educators such as Jesse Newlon who declared in a speech at a 1933 NEA convention,

> Teachers are as much entitled to speak on public questions as are the National Chamber of Commerce, the AF of L, the organized farmers, or the AMA.[151]

The *Journal's* enthusiasm for the teachers' activities never wavered.[152] Locally, the *Detroit Education News* kept up a steady defense of the political teachers. At one point, responding to the attacks of the *Free Press*, the paper ran an editorial endorsing political actions in terms strikingly reminiscent of those used by the suffragists two decades earlier " . . . [T]he time has come," the DTA president wrote, "when teachers must be concerned with public business to the end that the ethics of politics may be raised to a higher level."[153] That the teaching profession in Detroit was largely composed of women (83 percent) probably accounted both for the patronizing tone of *Free Press* and *Saturday Night* editorials and the manner of the DTA's response. There is no doubt that women teachers played a major role in the struggle for state aid or that their actions served as a vehicle to bring women into Michigan's political mainstream. Well before the end of the decade Detroit's two major teacher organizations, the DTA and DFT, were headed by women who were political activists on both the state and local levels.

By 1938 political involvement by teachers was no longer controversial. In March of that year Detroit's Superintendent Frank Cody addressed the American Association of School Administrators and praised politically active teachers seeing them as models of good citizenship for their students.[154] His views certainly reflected those of the Detroit Board of Education. By that time, beyond recognizing the lessons in civics their teachers were providing, the Board had come to rely on the teachers as valuable allies in their search for adequate funding. Since the goals of the trustees and the teachers were nearly identical on these matters encouragement and defense of political activity came easily to the Board. Undoubtedly many school districts around the country saw the loosening of restrictions on political activity of teachers a small price to pay for such extensive and energetic support in their bid for increased revenues. But Detroit, with its free speech policy was committed to more than that type of expediency. In the last half of the decade, as radical ideas swept across the land, the degree to which that policy was taken seriously by the Board was severely put to the test.

Nowhere was that more apparent than in the years following 1934 when the DFT emerged from "underground" and took its place in school politics allied to the Detroit Federation of Labor.[155] Like the DTA, the

DFT eagerly entered the political struggles for increased state aid and battled attempts to reduce Michigan's spending on education.[156] But the DFT was also active in a host of left-wing and radical movements. For example, throughout the last half of the decade the DFT raised money for Republican Spain, helped sponsor rallies for Tom Mooney and the Scottsboro boys, sent delegates to the American League Against War and Fascism, and had a contingent marching in the 1938 May Day parade.[157] But when Burt Shurly denounced the union in a 1937 speech, implying that it was a Communist organization, he received no support from his fellow trustees. Responding to protests against Shurly's remarks the other Board members assured the DFT that Board policy had not changed. Indeed by that time Frank Cody and several of the Board members were attending DFT functions as honored guests and by 1940 Walter Bergman described the relationship between the union and the Board as excellent.[158] The degree to which anti-union sentiment had abated in Detroit was also reflected in the response of the city's newspapers to the DFT. As Detroit shifted from the bastion of the "open shop" to one of the nation's strongest union towns the attitudes of the press underwent a noticeable change. Thus only Detroit *Saturday Night* applauded Shurly's statements on Communism and the DFT.[159]

But accusations of Communist influence in the Detroit schools soon came from a more prominent source. In the fall of 1938 Martin Dies' investigation of the Flint sit down strike produced allegations that ten Detroit teachers (almost all DFT members) were Communists. In another indication of the administration's sentiments on its left-wing teachers Frank Cody responded,

> There are eight thousand teachers [sic] in our school system, and if ten of them are red and the remainder well-read, I would be satisfied.[160]

A majority of the Board members were equally unimpressed with Dies' charges. Most of the trustees issued statements deploring Communism while at the same time defending the teachers' rights to private, political beliefs. A committee headed by A.D. Jamieson and including Frank Gorman, Laura Osborn, and Cody was set up to investigate the accusations. Its report presented in February, 1939, reiterated the anti-Communist sentiments but noted "that membership in the Communist Party is not illegal; that every American is entitled to freedom of belief and expression . . . "[161] No Board actions were taken against any of the teachers who were marked by Dies. Indeed, all were exonerated of charges that they preached subversion to their classes and according to Walter Bergman, who was one of the teachers, no one's career was damaged by the allegations.[162] The free speech resolution which Bergman's actions had initiated in 1931 continued to be the centerpiece of Board policy regarding teachers' rights. By the end of the decade there was no doubt that the political school teacher was an accepted fact of life in Detroit.

VI. Conclusions

Over the past few decades it has become commonplace for historians to seek the relationship between major, political reform movements and educational change. Despite that trend the 1930's, arguably the most important reform era in American history, has been given scant attention by educational historians. Certainly the fact that the New Deal, unlike other reform movements, did not give the schools a central role in its program accounts for much of that inattention. Nevertheless, the 1930's was a period in which American education was overtaken by changes as profound as any that occurred in society as a whole. The loosening of the restraints of political action by teachers stands as one of the most important of those developments.

In Detroit almost every aspect of the politicization of the teachers was tied to the larger transformation of the city that took place in the 1930's. The battles between the city's liberals and conservatives over the levels and costs of governmental service sparked the teachers' entry into the political arena. Allied with the liberal "establishment" the teachers fought the retrenchment plans of city's bankers and businessmen and eventually became powerful advocates for an expanded state role in the funding of public education. Mayor Frank Murphy's attempts to open Detroit to divergent political views was paralleled in the Board's adoption of the free speech resolution and the subsequent protection of teachers' rights as political activists. And, as Detroit was transformed into a headquarters for industrial unionism so the city's schools witnessed the rise of a militant teachers' organization. By 1940 the "neutral and colorless" teachers had undergone a metamorphosis. Their political activities were strongly partisan, at times colorful and controversial. But by 1940 political activity by teachers was *not* controversial and therein lies the substance of the change.

Whether the events in Detroit are generalizable is open to question. Many of the central figures and events have few counterparts nationally. Frank Murphy's dogged defense of civil liberties, the Board's passage of the free speech resolution, and the rise of the UAW to political prominence all give the events in Detroit a special aura. But there are strong indications that the general economic crisis and the need for state aid caused many school districts across the nation to open the door to political action for their teachers. Once open, it was impossible for that door to be shut again.

Notes

[1] Diane Ravitch, *The Great School Wars* (New York: Basic Book, 1974) pp. xiii-xiv.

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[2] Willard Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1932); Howard Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?* (New York: Charles Scribners and Sons, 1935).

[3] Robert Church, *Education in the United States* (New York: The Free Press, 1976) pp. 343-93.

[4] George Counts, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* (New York: John Day Co., 1932).

[5] William Eaton, *The American Federation of Teachers, 1916-1961* (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1975) pp. 79-121.

[6] United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population*, Vol. 1, p. 18.

[7] Sidney Fine, *Frank Murphy: The Detroit Years* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1975) p. 246.

[8] Ibid., p. 396-421.

[9] Detroit Teachers Association, *Executive Council Bulletin* (1940?), Detroit Council on Public Education Papers, Wallet 1, Miscellaneous Papers Folder, Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit, Michigan.

[10] Only one member of the twenty-one person ward-based Board was listed in the city's blue book. Following the change to a Board elected at large the entire membership was listed in the blue book.

[11] Ruby Mervin, ed., *The Social Secretary of Detroit, 1932* (Detroit: The Social Secretary, 1932) pp. 92, 109, 123, 138. Superintendent of Schools Frank Cody was also listed, Ibid., p. 56. Trustee Frank Gorman was a member of two exclusive clubs that were listed in the social register as well, Ibid., pp. 197, 216. Information on occupations came from Frank Cody, "Detroit's Board of Education," *American School Board Journal*, 82 (February, 1931) p. 57.

[12] Detroit *Labor News* (hereafter DLN) March 20, 1925; April 10, 1925.

[13] DLN, April 5, 1929; April 12, 1929.

[14] Ruby Brooks, ed., *The Social Secretary of Detroit, 1936* (Detroit: The Social Secretary, 1936) p. 91.

[15] Herbert S. Case, ed., *Who's Who in Michigan, 1936* (Munising, Michigan: Who's Who in Michigan, 1936) pp. 100, 192, 258, 356, 418. Laura Osborn Papers, Box 13, Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection; Detroit *News* (hereafter DN), April 4, 1933.

[16] *Detroit Board of Education Proceedings* (hereafter DBEP) 1929-30, p. 518.

[17] Ibid., pp. 423.

[18] The Board ordered that no Communist organizations could use school buildings on August 22, 1933. DBEP 1933-34, p. 41. Two months later, however, the Socialist Party was given permission to regularly use a school for evening meetings. Ibid., p. 102.

[19] DBEP 1929-30, p. 59.

[20] Ibid., pp. 312-13.

[21] DBEP 1931-32, p. 343.

[22] Quoted in Donald Disbrow, *Schools for an Urban Society* (Lansing, Michigan: Michigan Historical Commission) p. 228.

[23] Upton Sinclair, *The Goslings* (Pasadena: Upton Sinclair, 1924) pp. 186-88.

[24] Detroit Times (hereafter DT), March 25, 1929.

[25] DBEP 1929-30, p. 621; Detroit Public School Staff, *Frank Cody: A Realist in Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943) pp. 446-47.

[26] Beale, *American Teachers*, p. 83.

[27] Disbrow, *Schools*, p. 225; DN, December 28, 1928 in DN morgue.

[28] Detroit Teachers Association, *Executive Council Bulletin* (1940?), pp. 14-15.

[29] The Stone committee was composed of representatives of the Michigan Manufacturing Association, the Detroit Real Estate Board, the Detroit Board of Commerce, the Business Property Association, the Woodward Avenue Improvement Association, the Detroit Automobile Club, the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, and the Detroit Citizen's League. Fine, *Detroit Years*, p. 206.

[30] Ibid., p. 219-20, 298-300.

[31] DBEP 1931-32, p. 78.

32 DN, February 20, 1930.

[33] DN, February 22, 1930; March 12, 1930; March 13, 1930; March 14, 1930; March 15, 1930; March 23, 1930; March 24, 1930.

[34] DN, March 15, 1930; Staff, *Cody*, p. 457.

[35] The Mayor had the power to veto actions by the school board, but the board could override the veto.

[36] DN, November 18, 1930.

[37] DLN, November 21, 1930.

[38] Detroit *Free Press* (hereafter DFP), February 20, 1931.

[39] Anna Muffuletto, "Detroit Public School Teachers' Unions: Organization, Operation and Activities" (Master's Thesis, University of Detroit, 1958) pp. 36-40.

[40] DFP, April 1, 1931.

[41] DN, April 1, 1931; April 6, 1931.

[42] DFP, October 2, 1930.

[43] DFP, November 20, 1930.

[44] DFP, April 2, 1931.

[45] Fine, *Detroit Years*, p. 106.

[46] Detroit *Saturday Night* (hereafter DSN) February 28, 1931; March 7, 1931; April 4, 1931.

[47] DFP, March 20, 1931.

[48] Detroit *Times* (hereafter DT) March 30, 1931; DFP, February 28, 1931.

[49] DFP, February 28, 1931; DN, March 7, 1931; *The Detroiter* July 3, 1931; *The Detroiter*, September 2, 1935.

[50] Fine, *Detroit Years*, pp. 237-38.

[51] DLN, November 21, 1930.

[52] DLN, April 3, 1931; April 10, 1931; Their re-election was by a convincing margin. Gorman received 92,581 votes, Webster 75,930, and Krohn 45,371. DT April 17, 1931.

[54] Beale, *American Teachers*, pp. 8-9.

[55] Ibid., p. 85, 86-90.

[56] *The Legion News*, December 11, 1931.

[57] DBEP 1931-32, p. 140.

[58] Interview with Walter Bergman, August 30, 1982.

[59] Ibid.

[60] DT December 5, 1931.

[61] Ibid.

[62] DT, December 9, 1931.

[63] Fine, *Detroit Years*, p. 356.

[64] Ibid., pp. 397-402.

[65] Ibid., p. 402.

[66] DFP, December 5, 1931.

[67] DSN, March 19, 1932.

[68] DN, December 6, 1931; Bergman interview, August 8, 1982.

[69] DN, December 6, 1931.

[70] DT, December 8, 1931; *The Legion News*, December 11, 1931.

[71] DN, December 8, 1931.

[72] Ibid.

[73] DN, December 6, 1931.

[74] DT, December 8, 1931.

[75] DN, December 9, 1931; DBEP 1931-32, p. 247.

[76] DLN, December 11, 1931.

[77] DT, December 9, 1931. Davidow was later to play an important role as the principal attorney for the UAW. See Sidney Fine, *Sit Down: The General Motors Strike of 1936-37* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969) p. 221.

[78] DLN, December 11, 1931.

[79] DT, December 9, 1931.

[80] DFP, December 9, 1931.

[81] DN, December 9, 1931.

[82] DFP, December 9, 1931; DN, December 9, 1931.

[83] DN, December 9, 1931.

[84] DN, December 23, 1931.

[85] DT, December 23, 1931.

[86] DT, December 23, 1931; DLN, December 25, 1931.

[87] DBEP 1931-32, p. 256. The criterion used for the liberal or conservative label was endorsement by the DFL. Gorman, Webster and Williams all had had DFL endorsements. Osborn would get union support in 1935. Jamieson, McLean and Shurly, however, never received support from organized labor.

[90] Waller, *Sociology*, pp. 40-45.

[91] DT, December 9, 1931.

[92] DLN, December 25, 1931.

[93] Josephine Ettinger to Laura Osborn, Laura Osborn papers, Box 17, Folder 3.

[94] Beale, *American Teachers*, pp. 41-54. Beale did refer to the Bergman incident and he did mention the Board's free speech resolution but he did not relate the two events. Ibid., p. 51, 167.

[95] DBEP 1931-32, p. 247.

[96] DN, December 9, 1931.

[97] Detroit *Leader*, September 23, 1933.

[98] DT, March 5, 1933.

[99] DN, January 26, 1933.

[100] DT, March 5, 1933.

[101] See, for example DBEP 1931-32, p. 283.

[102] DLN, March 31, 1933.

[103] Muffaletto, "Detroit," pp. 39-40; Bergman interview, August 30, 1982.

[104] DN, February 26, 1933; Bergman interview August 30, 1982.

[105] DN, March 12, 1933.

[106] DN, February 21, 1933.

[107] DN, March 1, 1933.

[108] DFP, March 3, 1933.

[109] DSN, March 4, 1933.

[110] Fine, *Detroit Years*, p. 32.

[111] Sidney Fine, *The Automobile Under the Blue Eagle* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963) p. 9.

[112] Chester Culver to John Dancy, March 1, 1933, Detroit Urban League Papers, Box 2, Folder 2-27, Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[113] Staff, *Cody*, p. 473.

[114] DFP, March 27, 1933.

[115] Fine, *Detroit Years*, pp. 412-421.

[116] DLN, March 31, 1933.

[117] Detroit *Leader*, February 4, 1933. One DFT member on the Leader's board besides Bergman was Otto Markwardt. According to Upton Sinclair, Markwardt's wife was fired from her teaching position in the Detroit schools for answering a student's question on a text book scandal. Sinclair, *The Goslings*, p. 186.

[118] They noted, for example, that lawyers made endorsements for judicial elections. Detroit *Leader*, February 25, 1933.

[119] DN, February 26, 1933.

[120] DN, February 22, 1933; February 24, 1933; March 28, 1933.

[121] DFP, March 31, 1933; DN, March 28, 1931.

[122] DN, April 1, 1933.

[123] Ibid.

[124] DN, April 4, 1933.

[125] DN, March 20, 1933; April 3, 1933; DFP, April 2, 1933.

[126] The vote on returning to a ward-based council was 176,676 against to 70,421 in favor. DFP, April 5, 1933.

[127] E. Fenton Shepard and William B. Wood, *The Financing of Public Schools in Michigan* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1942, p. 26.

[128] *Detroit Teachers Association News* (Hereafter DTAN), April 11, 1934.

[129] Thomas Reed, "You and Your Government," *Michigan Education Journal* 10 (November, 1932) pp. 127, 137.

[130] Miles Knowles, "Urgent Need for Revision of Michigan's Tax Laws," *Michigan Education Journal* 10 (December, 1932) pp. 187-88.

[131] "Editorial," Ibid., p. 167.

[132] E.W. McFarland, "Facing Today's Educational Difficulties," *Michigan Education Journal* 10 (December, 1932) pp. 174-75.

[133] DN, January 26, 1933; February 13, 1933; DFP, February 13, 1933.

[134] John Webster to the Detroit Teachers Association, October 2, 1933. Laura Osborn Papers, Box 2, Miscellaneous Papers Folder.

[135] DTAN, November 28, 1933.

[136] DTAN, February 6, 1934. The laws were Public Act 236 of 1933 and Public Act 21 of 1934.

[137] DN, October 27, 1934.

[138] DN, October 26, 1934; DTAN, October 16, 1934; October 30, 1934.

[139] DTAN, November 27, 1934.

[140] *Detroit Education News*, September 29, 1936; October 13, 1936; October 29, 1936; November 10, 1936; October 26, 1938.

[141] *Detroit Education News*, November 10, 1936.

[142] DN, February 11, 1933.

[143] *The Detroiter*, December 8, 1933.

[144] DFP, February 14, 1933.

[145] DFP, October 19, 1934.

[146] DFP, October 30, 1934.

[147] DSN, November 10, 1934.

[148] DSN, November 3, 1934; January 12, 1935; April 27, 1935.

[149] Detroit Council on Public Education minutes, December 5, 1933.

[150] Ibid.

[151] Quoted in the *Michigan Education Journal* 10 (April, 1933) pp. 374-75.

[152] For example, see the *Michigan Education Journal* 11 (September, 1933) p. 6.

[153] DTAN, October 30, 1934.

[154] *Detroit Education News*, March 16, 1938.

[155] Detroit Federation of Teachers, Official Minutes 1934-1938, October 23, 1934; DLN, November 9, 1934.

[156] DLN, January 11, 1935; February 8, 1935; March 15, 1935.

[157] Detroit Federation of Teachers, Official Minutes 1934-1938, February 14, 1935; June 8, 1937; November 23, 1937; March 15, 1938; April 28, 1938.

[158] Ibid, October 12, 1937; Staff, *Cody*, pp. 486-87; Detroit Federation of Teachers, Official Minutes, 1939-1942, March 12, 1940.

[159] DBEP, 1937-38, p. 1, 15; DSN, August 31, 1937.

[160] Staff, *Cody*, p. 160.

[161] DFP, February 15, 1939.

[162] Bergman interview, August 30, 1982.

PART III

Issues in Minority Education

A HISTORY OF THE SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS OF THE URBAN LEAGUE OF PITTSBURGH
1918-1932

William E. Bickel
with
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Introduction

A clear understanding of the educational experiences of urban blacks in the early decades of this century cannot be attained merely by an examination of the public schools. While blacks were indeed participants in the public schooling process, their participation was constricted by institutional disinterest (at best) and by harsh economic realities. Like the immigrant, much of the education of blacks took place in the home, in the streets and in the work place. This was especially true for the thousands of blacks coming to the cities of the North from the South.

A number of social institutions internal to the black community (e.g., churches) and institutions that moved in both the white and black worlds, played key roles in the socialization process of urban blacks. This research analyzes the role played by the Urban League in the education of blacks in Pittsburgh, its goals and programs, its successes and failures. The scope of this research encompasses the 14 year period from 1918, the first year of operation for the Urban League of Pittsburgh (ULP), through 1932 when the Nation's economic "slump" had clearly turned into an economic disaster.

Three major social developments are the backdrop for the analysis of the ULP's educational programs. The first concerns the boom-bust cyclical economy in Pittsburg that finally resolves itself into the dramatic downturn of the 1930's. The second involves the massive migration of Southern blacks into Northern cities. The third concerns the struggle for control of the workplace that was taking place in Pittsburgh between organized labor and management.

These major social developments profoundly affected the lives of blacks in Pittsburgh. They were in turn the essential factors that influenced the work of the ULP during the first 14 years of its existence.

This paper is organized into 5 major sections. The first section examines the causes and scope of the Southern black migration into Northern cities from both a national and local perspective. The second details the early organizational history of the National Urban League and the emergence of the ULP which in many respects imitates national developments. The third section describes the conditions experienced by newly arriving black migrants in Pittsburgh along four dimensions (housing, the workplace, education, and health). The fourth section investigates the ULP's programmatic response to these conditions in the area of education. In the final section, an interpretation of the role of the ULP is offered.

The Promised Land

In the nation. Since the turn of the century, there had been a steady migration of Southern blacks to Northern cities. This movement replicated the general trends of time, namely, the migration from rural areas to urban, industrial centers. The economic and social attractions of the expanding cities and the grinding poverty faced by many in agriculture were the fundamental bases of this movement. For Southern blacks, the specific factor of expanding boll weevil blight was of particular importance. This, coupled with a desire of Northern industrialists to use black migrants as weapons against organized labor, led to a significant exodus of blacks during the early years of the century. In addition, there was active recruitment of Southern black women for domestic service in the North during this period. A typical recruitment drive of this type is described in the following passage:

> A procession comes into view. It is headed by a white man with a big drum. He is followed by a second man with a stick over his shoulder and tied to this is a bundle done up in a red and yellow bandanna handkerchief. Third — a woman — carries an old carpet sack and is grotesquely dressed. These are followed by a straggling, wandering line of Negro women, some young, some old; some in sombre dress, others in gay-colored clothes of all hues. The second man is the cryer and his voice rings out.
>
> Any nigger woman wanting to go north and earn good wages, $16 to $30 a month, fall into line. Easy times and lots of money. Fall into line! Free passage! No fees. (Knellor, 1905)

The early trickle of black migrants swelled to a flood tide with the early years of World War I. The extent of the migration can be seen from Table 1 which compares the percent increase of whites and blacks in a number of Northern cities during the second decade of this century. The reader will note that in all cities, the white and negro populations increase, but that the rate of increase among blacks was significantly higher in all instances except Kansas City, Missouri. The increase in the percentage of blacks ranged from a high of over 600% in Detroit to a low of 30.4% in Kansas City. What is particularly important to note is that these figures belie the concentration of migration that took place during the last few years of the decade. The overwhelming percent of the migration occurred between 1916 and 1920.

The reasons for the sudden growth were many. Continued deprivation in the agricultural South along with virulent Jim Crowism made the North seem the promised land for the Southern blacks more than ever. Northern industries promised steady work at relatively high wages. The reasons for the jobs were rooted in the coming of World War I.

The war had several effects which directly stimulated the migrations of blacks. First, with the opening of hostilities in Europe in 1914, immigration to the U.S. began to slow down significantly. It decreased steadily to less than one-tenth of its original volume by the end of the war. Moreover, as industry's source of cheap foreign labor was decreasing, the orders for goods were on the rise. Governments abroad early in the conflict saw the U.S. as a major source of supply. With U.S. entry into the war, this industrial boom was compounded by the need to equip the American war machine. The net effect of these developments was to force Northern industries to search elsewhere for a source of cheap labor. Previous experience with recruiting blacks as strike breakers led the industrialists to believe that the Southern black was a likely answer to their problem. Labor agents fanned out across the South and with promises of free transportation and high wages and recruited thousands for Northern industry.

The migration continued at a steady pace through the war years. However, with the end of the war, an economic slowdown in the North in turn diminished the rate of Southern exodus. With renewed activity of Northern industries in 1922, the migration swelled once again. A press release of the Department of Labor on October 24, 1923 gives some indication of the scope of the renewed migration.

> It was announced by the Secretary of Labor, through Phil H. Brown, Commissioner of Conciliation, specially detailed to observe the present movement of migratory negro labor, that 478,700 or nearly half a million negro migrants forsook their abodes and occupations in 13 Southern states during the year September 1, 1922, to August 31, 1923.
>
> An analysis of the 478,700 total reveals the fact that negro migrants for the year noted, Alabama yielded 90,000; Arkansas 5,000; Florida 90,000; Georgia 120,600; Kentucky 2,500; Louisiana 15,000; Mississippi 82,600; North Carolina 25,000; Oklahoma 1,000; South Carolina 25,000; Tennessee 10,000; Texas 2,000; Virginia 100,000. From the above, it will be noted that Georgia yielded the highest and Oklahoma the smallest quota of negro migrants. (Department of Labor, 1923)

The migration continued at a steady pace until the arrival of the Depression.

The Pittsburgh experience. In many respects, the migration of blacks to Pittsburgh closely followed national trends. Prior to 1915 there had been a slow but steady increase in the number of blacks in the city. The increase was the result of two developments. The trend, first of all, reflected the general movement to urban centers that was taking place across the country. However, more significantly for Pittsburgh, the increase in blacks reflected their use by Northern industrialists as a weapon against organized labor.

The earliest blacks to enter the Northern steel industry were a group of black puddlers from Richmond, Virginia brought to Pittsburgh in 1875 to take the place of white strikers. (Spero, 1931) This pattern was replicated again and again.

> Almost every labor disturbance between 1878 and middle eighties saw negroes used as strike breakers. The Black Diamond Mill at Pittsburgh, the Morehead Mill at Sharpsburg, and the Clark Mills at Pittsburgh one after the other used colored workers to take the places of white strikers. The climax of the practice came at the Elba Works near Pittsburgh when workers attempted to resist the introduction of negroes and participated a serious riot. (Speno et al., p. 250)

> Negroes were used as strike-breakers in many of the smaller industrial disputes that occurred around 1890 and in significant numbers in the great Homestead strike of that year. They were similarly used in 1901 to defeat the organizational campaign of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel and Tin Workers. (Clayton & Mitchell, 1939, p. 6)

Looking back on the entire period, a steel official from the Carnegie Steel Company stated

> As far as I am concerned, I believe that the negro has been a lifesaver to the steel company. When we have had labor disputes, . . . we have gone to the South and brought up thousands of them. I don't know what this company would have done without negroes. Interview (Homestead, PA) July 6, 1934. (Clayton & Mitchell, 1939, p. 7)

Like the rest of the nation, the migration of blacks to Pittsburgh increased dramatically with the advent of the war in Europe. Expanding industrial demands and diminished foreign immigration placed great pressure on the steel works in Pittsburgh to find an alternative source of cheap labor. Table 2 provides the figures for the black population in Pittsburgh from the years 1890 through 1930. It can been seen from these figures that the black population increases in proportion to the rest of the city as well as in actual numbers. Reflecting national trends, most of the growth occurred in two periods, 1916-1919 and 1923-24 during the war years and the industrial upswing that occurred in the early twenties. For example, the Carnegie Steel Company:

> employed only a handful of negroes in 1910, but the number swelled to 1,500 in 1916, and the Carnegie Company . . . almost trebled its working

> force of negroes between 1916 and 1917, when 4,000 were employed, the Jones and Laughlin Company with 400 negroes in 1914 had 1,500 in its payroll in 1917; the Crucible Steel Company with 150 negroes in 1916 had 400 the following year. Some plants which had no negroes in 1916, due to the acute labor shortage, employed negroes ranging in numbers from 50 to 200 in 1917.
>
> There were less than 100 negro steel workers in the Allegheny district in 1910, in 1915 there were 2,500, and in 1916, 8,235. At the peak of employment in the industry in 1923, there were 16,000 negroes in the iron and steel industry, which number constituted 21 per cent of the total steel workers in that area. (Clayton et al., p. 7)

By the mid-twenties, the migration to Pittsburgh began to taper off as the industrial boom reached a plateau. With the Depression, the influx slowed even more. What is most important to realize about the Pittsburgh migration is its size and compactness. Even though the Pittsburgh migration did not reach the proportions of some other major industrial centers (e.g., Cleveland, Chicago) the population increase was significant. However, most significantly, the increase came in sudden spurts which tended to greatly raise the consciousness of community leaders as to its occurrence and the problems of assimilation that it posed. It is in this heightened consciousness that the roots of the movement to organize the Urban League will be found. The following section briefly describes how the National Urban League and the Urban League of Pittsburgh began their organizational histories to meet the challenge of the migrant black.

The Urban League: An Organizational History

The National Urban League (NUL). The NUL originated as a response to three major social realities:

1. the migration to Northern cities of the Southern blacks;
2. the refusal or in some instances the inability of existing social service agencies to care for the needs of the new arrivals; and
3. the interest on the part of the community leaders and social reformers in stimulating the formation of social service agencies designed to assist blacks in the city.

These three realities combined to stimulate the formation of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes (NLUCAN) in 1911 in New York City, the organization that officially took the name of National Urban League in 1920 (Parris & Brooks, 1971, p. 166).

NLUCAN did not spring up over night. Rather, it represented the amalgamation of three district social service agencies that had preceded NLUCAN by several years. The three agencies were: the Committee for

Improving the Industrial Condition of Negroes (CIICNNY, 1906); the National League for the Protection of Colored Women (NLPCW, 1906); and the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes (CUCAN, 1910). These agencies were primarily concerned with: "finding desirable employment for colored men and women"; "providing for various needs of Southern women (migrants)"; and "the study of conditions, the coordination of betterment agencies and the training of young negro men and women for social work among their own people respectively" (Parris & Brooks, 1971, pp. 7-31).

By the beginning of the second decade of this century, a proposal for merging the primary black social service agencies in New York City was developed. The primary reasons for the proposal were economy of effort and money. Discussions began in 1911 under the direction of Professor George Haynes, Directory of CUCAN. The effort got strong support from the Charity Organization Society of New York (a society that included all major charities in the city) as well as from the fact that the directorates of the three organizations had a number of members in common. The formation of a loose confederation among the three organizations was effected October 16, 1911. The work plan of the new confederation (NLUCAN) included several key proposals that were to characterize the work of the agency over the next decade.

> A definite, thorough and continuous campaign to bring about cooperation among the various social agencies working with negroes in this country. The establishment of branch organizations in several cities. The holding of the first semi-annual conference of social workers among negroes in New York on December 4, 1911. The further development of educational work along social lines at Fisk University . . . Appointment of a teaching fellow at Fisk University. Establishment of additional scholarships at Fisk University. Appointment of additional graduate fellows for study in New York City. Development of departments of social science along similar lines at other negro colleges. Appointment of scholars of this league at other negro colleges. (Parris & Brooks, p. 36)

One of the earliest "branch organizations" was developed in Pittsburgh.

Before turning to the organizational history of the Pittsburgh affiliate, however, several key features of NLUCAN should be noted. First, the formation of this organization drew strong support from the most "enlightened" social service institutions of the day — the Charity Organization Society of New York, the Association for the Improvement of Conditions of the Poor and the New York School of Philanthropy. This was important because it "brought with them the people who could secure support — financial and influential — of the power elite, both black and white" (Parris & Brooks, 1971, p. 35).

NLUCAN from its inception had the backing of prestigious individuals in the community. White leadership was always a consistent feature of its directorship, its advisory boards, and its executive committees. This structure and membership was reflected in each new chapter that was organized.

A review of the first year's budget of NLUCAN illustrates the sources of its support.

> More than half of its combined total income of $15,488.70 came from six contributions: John D. Rockefeller, $2,500; Julius Rosenwald, $2,000; Alfred T. White and his sisters, $1,500; Mrs. D. Willis James, $1,000; Godfrey Hyams, $1,000; and Mrs. Ruth Standish Baldwin, $785. Other influential contributors included Paul and Felix Warburg, Andrew Carnegie, Cleveland Dodge, the Seligman brothers (Edwin, George and Isaac), Dr. Felix Adler, Robert C. Ogden, Jacob Schiff, Oswald Garrison Villard, V. Everit Macy, George Foster Peabody, and William G. Willcox. (Note 1)

An early work of NLUCAN included the establishment of the Housing Bureau of New York — actually a "Registration Bureau of Tenements" (Parris & Brooks, 1971, p. 46). The goals of the Bureau included:

> . . . furnishing lists of houses certified by investigation as being tenanted by respectable people and being physically clean and wholesome . . . getting corrective action of agents and owners or of proper city authorities in case of infraction of Tenement House, Board of Health or Police regulations . . . aiding in developing moral conscience on the part of negro citizens of New York . . . that will cause tenants to refuse absolutely to tolerate carelessness and indifference in the management and control of houses advertised for rental to respectable tenants; and, efforts to educate negro tenants in practical knowledge of the sanitation and upkeep of properties they occupy. (Parris & Brooks, 1971, p. 46)

A second major activity of the early years concerned jobs. NLUCAN offices in Harlem contained lists of jobs available through other agencies. A major breakthrough came in 1915 when John T. Clark then supervisor of NLUCAN Housing Bureau made contact with tobacco plantations near Hartford, Connecticut. What began as a cautious experiment quickly turned into a program of recruitment of major proportions. The NLUCAN along with the Connecticut Leaf Tobacco Association arranged for the importance of several thousand blacks from the South. NLUCAN negotiated with the growers for transportation costs, wages, housing and education for the workers. A NLUCAN report describes the general program of recruitment in subsequent years.

> From Jacksonville, St. Augustine, Pensacola and other cities in northeastern Florida, the first train loads of negroes were picked up promiscuously. They were at first organized into camps. The promise of a long free ride to the North met with instant favor and wild excitement ensued as the news

> circulated. Carloads of negroes began to pour into Pennsylvania. When they had once touched northern soil and discovered that still higher wages were being offered by other concerns, many deserted the companies responsible for their presence in the North. Some drifted to the steel works of the same state; others left for nearby states. Letters back home brought all the news of still more enticing jobs, and succeeded in stimulating the movement. Of the 12,000 negroes brought into Pennsylvania by the Pennsylvania Railroad, less than 2,000 remained with the company.
>
> Thus began in the year of 1916 a flood of negroes from the South which neither the dread of Northern winds, nor the persuasion of their leaders, nor the intimidation of authorities, nor the withdrawal of facilities for travel, could abate until it had spent itself. (Parris & Brooks, 1971, pp. 73-74)

Other activities during the early years of the organization included: the establishment of travel bureaus, the training of black social workers, the study of the industrial and social conditions of blacks and the promotion of other organizations designed to assist blacks.

The possibility of an affiliate in Pittsburgh first arose in November 1915 when Eugene Kinckle Jones, executive secretary of NLUCAN, traveled to seven cities (Pittsburgh included) across the North and Midwest in an effort to stimulate new branches. The impact of Jones' trip on Pittsburgh and the eventual establishment of a branch there are described in the following section.

The Urban League of Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh was the last stop in Jones' 25 day trip to raise support for Urban League goals. During his stay in Pittsburg, Jones "called on many leaders, spoke about the League's program at three public meetings, conferred with black and white social workers and the leaders of the Associated Charities" (Parris & Brooks, 1971, p. 77). Jones' trip did not immediately produce a new Urban League Chapter. However, one outcome was the formation of a committee of black and white social workers linked to and receiving some support from the Associated Charities.

Clearly a major impetus for this activity from the point of view of Pittsburgh leaders was the rapidly burgeoning members of blacks migrating to the city. A second reason for the formation of a new committee was the fact that current charities were not adequately addressing the needs of blacks. This is not to suggest that the new group represented a departure from the existing social service structure. It is significant that the first chairman of the committee was Walter A. May, a member of the Board of Directors of the Associated Charities (Stevenson, 1936, p. 5)

One of the first acts of what came to be called the Pittsburgh Council for Social Service Among Negroes was to ask for information on what had been done in other cities. They turned to NLUCAN for assistance. A representative of NLUCAN's staff, John T. Clark, was sent in 1916 to study the Pittsburgh scene. Appendix A contains a complete reproduction of Clark's recommendations. "Housing, Industrial Work, Educational Work, and Travelers' Aid Work" were essential areas of activity outlined by Clark. The plan was adopted by the Council and it formed the basis of its work for the next several years.

Several features of the "Work Plan" should be noted. First, the plan stressed the importance of cooperating with existing social services as they did not themselves have the resources to fund major new programs. Second, the entire plan stressed working within existing institutions to help "adjust" the newly arriving migrant to urban conditions. With this goal of adjustment, the council was addressing an issue that was to remain as an important problem in its work over the next decade. The Council clearly was committed to trying to improve conditions for blacks while at the same time making the best of a bad situation by helping blacks adjust to existent realities through self-improvement. The goals adopted for work in industry are illustrative.

> *Industrial work*, including general employment, shall be an essential part of opening new opportunities and vocational guidance . . .
>
> a special effort (must be made) to reduce the large negro turnover in the various industrial plants by noon, and Sunday talks . . . by assisting corporations in getting the most reliable type of negro labor and then seeing to it that this labor is properly treated and given opportunities for advancement. (Stevenson, 1936, p. 7)

Attaining these potentially conflicting goals proved to be a major challenge over the next few years.

One of the earliest activities of the Council after the adoption of the work plan was the establishment (at the request of several major corporations in the city) of a number of social welfare workers to work in the plants directly with black employees. This program will be discussed in detail in a subsequent section of this paper. Other activities of the Council during the 1916-1918 period included the sponsorship of an extensive study of the conditions to be found among newly arriving migrants (Epstein, 1918), numerous attempts to improve housing conditions (without success), and the provision of assistance to incoming migrants through travelers aid work in the railroad stations.

In 1917 the Council received a letter from Jones, Secretary of NLUCAN, offering to send a worker to Pittsburgh to assist it in placing its organization "on a substantial basis, financially and otherwise." (Note 2) Clark was once again selected to go to Pittsburgh. After a period of four months of developmental work the Council on January 15, 1918 voted that it "resolve itself into the Urban League of Pittsburgh." (Note 3) In the following section the conditions confronted by the fledgling organization will be discussed in detail.

Pittsburgh: The World's Workshop

It did not take the newly arriving migrants long to understand that the "promised land" had some serious drawbacks to it. In this section, the conditions faced by blacks during the war in Pittsburgh will be described in four basic areas: housing, the workplace, education, and health.

Housing. The survey sponsored by the ULP (Epstein, 1918) provided some basic information on housing for the migrant. Thirty-five percent lived in tenement houses, fifty percent in rooming houses, about twelve percent in camps and churches and only two and one-half percent lived in private single family residences.

Sleeping quarters were extensively shared. Of more than three hundred individuals interviewed who were in Pittsburgh without their families, only thirty-seven percent slept in separate beds. Fifty percent slept two in a bed. The study noted that in the more crowded areas, beds were rented on a double shift basis.

In addition to being overcrowded, the general conditions of the housing available to blacks was of the poorest type. Epstein's description of typical structures was illustrative.

> The conditions in these rooming houses often beggar description. Sleeping quarters are provided not only in bedrooms, but also in attics, basements, dining rooms and kitchens. In many instances, houses in which these rooms are located are dilapidated dwellings with the paper torn off, the plaster sagging from the naked lath, the windows broken, the ceiling low and damp, and the whole room dark, stuffy and unsanitary. In one or two instances, these rooms, with more than six people sleeping in them at one time, have practically no openings for either light or air. (Epstein, 1918, p. 12)

Dilapidated conditions did not warrant a less burdensome rent structure. Rents were almost uniformly high and in many instances exorbitant. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that problems related to housing occupied much of the ULP's early work.

The Work Place. Iron and steel manufacturing were the major industries in Pittsburgh and it was to these industries that thousands of blacks were recruited during the war years. Like the immigrants before them, the blacks occupied the lowest rungs of the job ladder. Table 3 provides data collected in 1917 on the kinds of positions held by blacks in industry as well as the compensation received. The data clearly indicate that the blacks had "entered the productive industries, but they are still kept on the lowest rung of the economic ladder" (Epstein, 1918, p. 31). Almost ninety-five percent of the men interviewed in Epstein's survey were reported as being employed as common laborers (p. 32).

Epstein (1918) found two major reasons given by manufacturers for the low placement of blacks in Pittsburg industry "first . . . the migrants are inefficient and unstable, and second . . . [there was] opposition to them on the part of white labor . . . prohibiting their use on skilled jobs" (p. 32). Epstein relates a story about a "big glass plant that attempted to use negro labor but the white workers ran them out calling them nigger" (p. 32).

The conditions of employment were harsh for all unskilled laborers in the mills during this period. However, the black experience appears to have been particularly difficult. As late as 1923, the Urban League documented the plight of black steel workers who had access jobs on the blast furnace, and the open hearth "only during the hot summer months and that they were invariably displaced by white workmen when the cold winter came" (Clark, 1923, p. 305).

Organized labor was no friend of the black migrant in the major industries in Pittsburgh. This was true despite the ostensibly amicable relationships that had been worked out as early as 1918 by the AFL and Urban League national offices. Clearly a major cause of enmity between blacks and organized labor locally was the history of strike breaking that blacks had as early as the Homestead strike of 1887. Industrial interests effectively played one group off against the other for their (the industrialists) own best interests. Prior to the war blacks were generally not able to get jobs in the iron and steel industries except when organized labor was active in the plant or when there was thought to be a danger of unions in the future (Spero, 1931, pp. 246-263).

The history of strike breaking, however, did not fully explain the enmity between white and black workers. Racism was an essential ingredient to the hostility. Some union locals restricted black membership in their constitutions or through their membership procedures. Most simply did not take black applicants. A few took applicants but never assigned blacks to jobs (Epstein, 1918, pp. 38-42). When blacks attempted to organize their own locals, they were also thwarted. For example, Epstein documents an attempt by 30 unorganized black plasterers in Pittsburgh to apply for a charter to the Operative Plasterer's and Cement Finishers International. For their efforts they got the response that the older white local in Pittsburgh would have to approve. This local had already refused to respond to black requests to organize. Epstein (1918) summarized the plight of the black workers in this case when he wrote the following

> An official of Local 31 admitted that the rank and file would never consent to have colored people among them, and attend the social functions given by the Union, although he claimed they could not possibly reject a man because of his color, as it is a gross violation of their constitution . . . [and] the secretary of the short-lived colored organization gave his reason for not joining the union as an individual the fact that the Union, even were he a member, would not supply him with a job, and that white Union members would walk out were he by any chance to be employed. (Epstein, 1918, pp. 41-43).

Education. The formal educational experiences of blacks during this period in Pittsburgh were dominated by two characteristics: general institutional disinterest, and an economic climate that necessitated the employment of the child (legally or otherwise). The net effect of these characteristics was to diminish the role of the public school in influencing the life of blacks (especially the new migrant). Black children tended to start school at a later age, attend irregularly, achieve poorly and leave as soon as it was feasible.

The institutional disinterest among school officials can be explained by several factors. One was simply preoccupation with other problems of larger magnitude. Foreign immigration since the turn of the century had left an indelible impression upon the work of the Pittsburgh Public Schools (PPS). As late as 1913 fully forty-five percent of the incoming children in kindergarten came from homes where English was but "slightly known" (Board of Education, 1913, p. 42). In 1928, despite the drastically reduced immigration, the systems elementary schools were 42.8 percent foreign born (Board of Education, 1928, p. 214). Immigrant, not black, children occupied the attention of schools.

A second reason for the position of blacks in schools can be found in the acceptance by the schools of existing social realities, namely, of the fact that the blacks were on the lowest rungs of the social order and were not likely to progress from this condition in the near future. Elementary principals' responses to a system-wide survey in 1927 are illustrative. (Note 5) One principal indicates that the black students in her school would be apt candidates for the new prevocational programs but recommending them for inclusion was of little use as unions would not permit blacks to work in their trades.

Black students in 1927 represented approximately 9.5% of the elementary enrollment in the district which was roughly comparable to their representation in the total population. However, their numbers in high school fell to less than one-tenth of this mark. (Bickel and Martin, 1979) The students in the elementary schools also tended to be over-aged. Epstein noted that

> the problem of over-aged pupils is very significant among the negro children . . . as study of over-aged pupils in . . . eleven schools finds that the percentage of negro children eleven years and over in the lower four grades is far greater than that of the whites (sixteen percent negro as compared with four and seven tenths percent whites). This, the same principal remarks, is in spite of the fact that the tendency of the schools is often to promote children upon the basis of their size and age, rather than because of academic attainment. What is more the white children in most of these schools come from homes where the parents are not Americans, but foreigners who often do not speak the English language. (p. 72)

Another principal ten years later put it this way

> the colored child . . . like topsy he just grows, ill-fed and ill clothed. The men, not regularly employed, loaf around the corner while women go out to work and the children roam the streets. Many of the parents are addicted to dope and liquor which are sold within the shadow of the school. (Note 5)

Given the indifference or downright racism experienced by blacks in the schools, the economic conditions of most black families, and the fact that many of the migrating families had little positive experience with schools in the Southern homeland, it is not surprising to find the low involvement in the public schooling process on the part of blacks.

Health. Considering the type of jobs held by blacks in the mills, their early entry into the workplace, and the housing and sanitary conditions of many black families was not surprising that health concerns were major issues to the ULP. The concerns can be divided into two major types: (1) those involving the actual health problems faced by blacks; and (2) those related to the servicing of black health needs.

Epstein (1918) documents the health problems faced by blacks. He writes of "startling adult and infant mortality rates among negroes" (p. 55). When comparing 1915 with 1917 statistics on mortality, Epstein notes a seventy-eight percent increase despite the fact that the population increase of blacks during this period was an estimated forty-five percent. The death rate among blacks during the first seven months of 1917 was forty-eight percent greater than the birth rate. This compared to the city population as a whole whose number of deaths was thirty percent less than the number of births (p. 58-59). Infant mortality rates were similarly high and out of proportion when compared to the rest of the city. One hundred and sixty black children per thousand died compared to the city's rate of one hundred and four. Discussion over the causes of higher death rates among blacks centered on "climate changes, congested quarters, and the heavy labor and the pace-setting of Pittsburgh industries" (Epstein, 1918, p. 57).

An important contributing factor to the poor health conditions among

Pittsburgh blacks was the lack of health care that was available to them. A number of hospitals would not admit black patients or would only admit them in small numbers. Epstein (1918) notes that "almost every colored physician complained of the difficulty he had in securing places for his patients" (p. 58). This condition had not changed much by 1930 when a study (Reid, 1930) of the Hill District in Pittsburgh (a predominantly black section) noted that blacks were generally admitted in few numbers, used segregated wards, and did not have access to private rooms. Convalescent care was especially lacking. One hospital administrator was quoted as saying that "we do not and never have admitted colored children to the home, although we have had many applications" (p. 50).

The Reid Study (1930) also documents the problems faced in the black community with finding good medical personnel. There was one negro physician in Pittsburgh to every 21,650 black citizens and one registered nurse to every 13,000 inhabitants. There were no facilities for training black nurses and black physicians did not have access as staff to any of the city's hospitals. (p. 51).

One final comment on the health conditions among blacks concerns the fact that the lack of care persisted despite many appeals to the larger community to rectify the situation based upon what was in their own self-interest. Epstein's (1918) comments are illustrative.

> The conservation of health is no longer the concern of the individual affected alone, but is the problem of the whole community. No one in the city, even if he be living under the best conditions can be certain of immunity from the menace of epidemic or of venereal diseases and tuberculosis. Infantile paralysis, and the other contagious or infectious diseases have no regard for differences of social status or residential respectability . . . the Negros live near us or in our midst. They are with us on the street cars, stores and amusement places. They work side by side with us in the mills, factories and offices [as] domestic servants the colored women are the only ones available for this type of work. Their women live in our homes, wash our clothes, cook our dinners, make our beds and nurse our children. A close interrelation between the two races exists, and we cannot long hope to be free from the diseases to which our servants are subject. Once it is realized that our own welfare is greatly affected by the welfare of the Negro, it is obvious that we must see to it that his health is conserved. Our old ostrich-like policy of comfortable neglect will not serve to protect us. (pp. 54-55).

The study (Reid, 1930) twelve years later of conditions on the Hill indicated that even appeals to the city's self interest were not enough to significantly improve the experience of blacks in Pittsburgh.

The Urban League Response: A Program of Education, Service and Cooperation

The ULP's response to the conditions of blacks in the city can be divided into two major categories: education and direct service. The education side of their response can be further divided into efforts directed toward the larger, non-black community (the ULP referred to this as their "interpreter" role), and their efforts aimed at the self-improvement or betterment of the black citizen. Educational efforts (broadly defined) will be the primary focus of this discussion, however, the dichotomy between education and service programs was not a precise one and some discussion of service programs will be included. A separate discussion at the end of this chapter on the effect the early depression years had on ULP programs has been included.

Several underlying themes are important for the reader to keep in mind as various programs are described. The first and most important concerns the tightrope being walked by the ULP that was mentioned earlier in this paper. That is, the ULP was constantly confronted with the problem of finding a balance between efforts to improve existing social conditions and works that were aimed at helping blacks to accept and to adjust to these conditions and to make the best of them. The task of maintaining such a balance was made difficult not only because of the larger community's indifference (or actual hostility) to blacks but also because of the ULP's own organizational structure which relied heavily for its support on conservative white community interests. The history of the ULP is in many respects the story of how the organization dealt with this fundamental issue of balance.

A second major theme to be found in the activities of the ULP is the tension between their wanting to avoid being a direct service agency and the ultimate necessity of, in fact, becoming one. The reason why service became an essential component of their work rested upon the disinclination of many service agencies and social institutions to include blacks in their service constituencies. The ULP was constantly confronted with the realization that if they did not take the responsibility to serve blacks, the service would not be available.

A third consideration as one reviews the program efforts of the ULP rests with the knowledge that extremely limited financial resources were available to the League. During many of the years between 1918 and 1930 the League was confronted with the possibility of closing because of the lack of support. This was true despite the fact that wealthy white business interests formed a key, if meager, part of their financial support.

Adjustment of New Arrivals. The most pressing problem facing the newly organized League in 1918 was related to the large influx of Southern black migrants into the city. How to locate housing and jobs, dominated the work of the ULP.

To meet the need for immediate adjustment, an Urban League volunteer was placed in Union Station to direct new arrivals. Attempts were made to have the local Traveler's Aid Society take over this work, but this was not successful until 1925 when the second major influx of blacks into Pittsburgh had already reached its peak. The duties of this worker "consisted of meeting the incoming travelers, assisting outgoing passengers and keeping station loungers and crooks from imposing upon ignorant and innocent waiting passengers" (Stevenson, p. 86).

The volunteers in the stations would refer arrivals to the city room registry. The ULP had originally planned to develop their own registry but eventually decided to cooperate with the city-wide registry in existence in keeping with its goal of using existing agencies where possible. (Note 6) However, this policy of cooperation was discontinued by the early twenties when the League developed its own registry. The reasons for the change are not entirely clear. However, there may have been a deemphasis of the city-wide registry because of the steadily diminishing numbers of immigrants arriving in the city. Similarly by the early twenties the Red Cross coffee canteens in railroad stations were closing and the ULP took over this function. Again the withdrawal of more general services may have been the result of diminished foreign immigration and concomitantly may have also been a measure of the relative disinterest the white social service agencies had in migrating blacks.

The ULP after locating rooms for the arrivals provides a registry that identified jobs for men and women. This employment bureau was eventually taken over by the state employment service by 1923, although, the actual state offices were maintained on ULP premises (Clark, 1923, p. 305).

The League made a number of attempts to improve the housing conditions of blacks during its first decade of existence. Educational efforts for the larger community were also conducted. For example, surveys were implemented in 1918 and again in the early twenties and were published in the local newspapers. Direct pressure on governmental agencies (e.g., the City Planning Commission) was tried. These efforts met with little success. As late as 1930, Reid (1930) reaches the conclusion that housing for blacks in the Hill District of Pittsburgh is characterized by high rents and less desirable conditions (p. 37).

Neighborhood Organizational Units. A major activity of the ULP was the management of educational programs in the home. This effort began in 1918 when the ULP was able "after much persuasion to interest the Council of National Defense (CND) in the necessity of employing negro women . . . to demonstrate the conservation of food to the negro housewives and to organize groups within their own homes" (Stevenson, 1936, p. 66). The worker hired for this activity was initially paid by the CND but she worked out of a League office.

This early beginning in food conservation mushroomed into a major home economics effort within the League in 1919 when a committee on this topic was established. By 1920 the ULP was supporting two social service workers in this effort. Instruction was given in canning, serving, and cooking; adult recreational activities were planned, as were children's activities. The planning of low-cost, nutritious meals, household economy and consumer tips were also subjects of these neighborhood educational programs.

The informal structure gradually evolved into a more formalized organization of neighborhood units each containing a number of households. This neighborhood unit structure became a primary tool for communication between the ULP and the black population. Spare clothing drives were held. Some of the more active units held annual bazaars in which "samples of the garments, needlework, canning and cooking were exhibited" (Stevenson, 1936, p. 71). The units were used to teach the "fundamentals of keeping from being exploited by tradesmen, landlords, and stock salesmen" (p. 72). In an ironic note, one was mentioned in League records as acquiring considerable public recognition by fixing flower boxes in a particularly notorious district of the city called "The Strip." So much interest was stimulated as a result of the project that it seemed that "more favorable consideration [for the black households] seemed to be shown by white social workers" (p. 72).

Although the neighborhood unit program experienced some decline during the years when the ULP faced financial difficulties as late as 1928, it still constituted a major proportion of ULP activity. It can be fairly said that the unit program probably was the most effective educational activity of the ULP. It is not surprising that the central goal of the work was primarily bettering the lot of blacks through improved practical education. There is no indication that these units were ever utilized as a mechanism for political organization.

Educators in the Workplace. An important activity for the League from its inception was to find employment for the newly arriving blacks from the South. However, their work in the plants went far beyond the initial identification of a job. The League, at times on its own initiative and at times directly at the behest of industrial leaders, undertook to assist the black worker in adjusting to the industrial organization.

As early as 1918 representatives of three major corporations came to the Industrial Relations Committee of the ULP and requested that the League identify black welfare workers that could work directly in the plants with the migrant labor. Eighteen welfare workers were eventually placed in eleven plants that year (Clayton & Mitchell, 1939). The League saw the arrangements as a way of assisting the black worker in adjusting to industrial life and of helping to insure that these workers were given "the proper treatment and the opportunity for advancement" (Appendix A) while at the same time aiding the industrialists in developing a new source of labor. These workers continued in the plants over the next several decades.

One of the personnel directors of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation viewed the purposes of the welfare workers from a slightly different angle.

> The welfare worker has given us insight into what we term the peculiarities of their race, that perhaps otherwise could never have been understood. We seek information regarding employees that will be to their benefit both on and off the job. We, therefore, want the worker to feel free to come to us whenever he so desires. (Clayton & Mitchell, 1939, p. 384.)

In 1923 in the Urban League publication *Opportunity*, it was noted that one of the duties of these workers was to keep the company informed.

> One of the many successful efforts has been the investigating of our men off duty, through the welfare worker. By this means we are able to catch up the loafer, thus ridding the community of undesirables. . . . Through our welfare worker, we were able to trace out disorderly houses and close them properly. (Knapp, 1923, p. 19)

It is not surprising that the reaction of black workers to the presence of black welfare workers was mixed. For example, a number of interviews on this subject were conducted in the mid-thirties. The following is a typical response from a black laborer.

> B — is supposed to be the negro welfare director, but he goes around the colored and reports to the company whether the men are for the company, how they live and everything else. He is no good and anybody will tell you that. He is the company's stool pigeon. No one respects him no more than they do the other stool pigeons. (Clayton & Mitchell, 1979, p. 384)

At times the welfare workers became involved in political activities or anti-organizing campaigns. One welfare worker who was also a preacher described his own involvement in such activities.

> I am a preacher too and I have a church of about five hundred members in Rankin [a town near Pittsburgh]. I did not speak out for a long time [on unions]. Then finally I did talk. I told them that the company respected the freedom of the pulpit and that no one had asked me to speak. Then I talked against an outside union and told them what my attitude was. After that only one man of my congregation joined the outside union and he was one of those fellows whom you can't tell anything to. (Clayton & Mitchell, 1939, p. 387)

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The welfare worker program was a clear example of the difficulty the League had in balancing its efforts to improve conditions with attempts to adjust to them. In its position as "interpreter" between management and black labor the League too often was not successful in avoiding the trap of becoming a tool for management interests without reaping significant gains for its own constituencies.

There was some interesting contrasting examples of where the ULP did attempt to make serious changes in the system. For example, the ULP in 1919 supported an attempt to organize black mechanics into their own construction company, the "Union Construction Company" (Stevenson, 1936, p. 57). This effort was short-lived, however. Writing about this episode, Stevenson (1936) states that

> As a temporary employment measure the project was sound, but the League felt that the lack of experience in organization, resulted in careless estimation of material costs, and unwise expenditures, thereby making maintenance of this organization impossible and unwise. (p. 57)

Early League leadership actually attempted to get labor to use black organizers in 1919. Clark, Executive Secretary to the ULP met a number of times with William Z. Foster, Secretary of the Iron and Steel Workers prior to the great strike of 1920. While Foster evidenced general agreement with Clark's position, no action resulted from these meetings. Later on that year the Urban League sponsored the mass meeting of black steel workers. The union was permitted to present its case. Many company agents were present. Clark made it clear that the League sponsored the meeting as an educational service and was not endorsing union membership. Representatives from the Philadelphia Urban League spoke of their unfavorable experiences with unions. The entire experience reflected the difficult position of the black worker and the League. Genuine attempts to ally with organized labor were rebuffed or ignored. While employers were certainly not genuine friends of the black worker, at least they gave them employment, something the unions were not able and/or willing to do as part of their efforts. (Spero, 1931, pp. 257-260).

Urban League efforts in the workplace changed direction with the Depression. Job identification and adjustment evolved into job training activities. These will be described in a subsequent section of this paper.

The Education Program. The only formal contact the ULP had with the public schools was through a school visitor program, started in October 1923 (Stevenson, 1936). The program was initiated as a way of increasing the contact among black households and the public schools. High rates of truancy and non-enrollment of black children were the primary reasons for the ULP action.

Over the course of the next several years, the school visitor established contact with schools having a predominant population of black children. The visitor saw her role as an "effort to interpret the Southern negro child to teachers and principals and also to interpret the new educational system to the parents" (Stevenson, 1936, p. 82). In 1924 the League reported that the attendance of black children increased by eight percent (p. 82). In 1926 the school visitor handled problems of behavior, health, irregular attendance, adverse home conditions, tardiness, poor scholarships, truancy, mental health, and misunderstandings between teachers and pupils.

The schools cooperated readily with the visitor's efforts. Principals were soon referring cases to the ULP visitor. Given the obvious need for assistance and the positive reception, the ULP pressed for the PPS to include black school visitors as part of the school staff. Although this request was put forth vigorously, it was not until the mid-thirties that the PPS actually hired several black home-school visitors.

Parallel to the efforts to obtain black home-school visitors as part of the PPS staff, the ULP also pressed for the hiring of black teachers. In 1921 the Board of Education permitted several black women to enroll in the district's teacher training program. However, as of 1936 the ULP had been unable to convince the district to hire a single black teacher.

Another important component of the ULP Education Department's work was in supporting the work of the National Urban League Fellows in Pittsburgh in cooperation with the University of Pittsburgh and the Carnegie Institute of Technology. This program was designed to develop a cadre of black social work leadership. The work of the Fellows was educational, raising the consciousness of the broader community about conditions among Pittsburgh blacks. Many of the theses produced by the theses Fellows provided objective documentation in areas such as housing, employment, and education of the problems faced by blacks.

The Depression: Its Impact upon ULP Programs. The ULP since its inception, had had to deal with a series of boom, bust economies that affected the Pittsburgh region. However, the Depression was unlike anything that had preceded it.

Clearly the impact of the Depression on black workers was great. This was primarily so for two reasons related to the location of blacks in the economy. As noted earlier, black men, when they were employed, tended to work as unskilled laborers in the mills. Black women primarily found jobs as domestics. It was precisely these two job classifications that were most vulnerable when the Depression came. The plants tended to want to protect their skilled employees where possible; and, a white middle and upper middle class faced with their own economic realities

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dismissed many of the black domestics that had worked for them as an economy measure. Thus, proportionally to their population in the community, their numbers among the unemployed increased during the Depression years (Anderson, 1932; Gould, 1934; Rathmell, 1935). Blacks who were not unemployed were often underemployed. In some cases, black workers were offered major cuts in their wages to retain their jobs.

There was a bright spot for blacks in Pittsburgh. In contrast to what occurred in numerous other cities, blacks were generally not fired en masse in order to provide positions for whites. In a speech on the occasion of the thirteenth annual meeting of the ULP, the Executive Director, R.M. Moss said that

> Be it said to the everlasting credit of Pittsburgh's employers, that they have not done that which in many instances has happened elsewhere — made wholesale cuts of their negro working force as a means of reducing payrolls. Rather they have discharged without regard to race, and, where additions to the force have been made, they have called both white and black workers as there were openings. We cite one steel concern that has discharged thousands, but which has all along maintained its percentage of negroes — 17 percent — in its working force. (Note 7)

This trend was also documented in specific studies undertaken during the period (Anderson, 1932; Rathmell, 1935). Moss' gratitude, however, belied the real motivations of the employers who clearly saw that it was to their advantage vis a vis organized labor to retain a mix of non-organized blacks. Further, there was evidence of black willingness to work for lower wages in order to retain their positions. In fact, many blacks before the Depression were already on reduced wage scales (Spero, 193?).

The Depression had three immediate effects on ULP programs. First, the already tenuous financial support for League work was greatly threatened. Second, at the same time, the need to provide direct service in such areas as food relief and housing increased. Third, the League was forced to take a more direct role in trying to train blacks for the jobs that could be found. This third impact on the educational programs of the League is of greatest interest to the scope of this paper.

The question of how the Depression was changing and would change ULP programming was posed by its Executive Director in 1930.

> In the face of this [Depression], what part shall the Urban League play? Shall its energies be directed to mere academic discussion of the problem; shall it enter the field of relief; or shall it turn in some other direction, and if so, just what? (Note 7)

One answer to the question was basically that

> we [the ULP] must devote our every energy to making more efficient the negro breadwinner, and thus lift as many as possible of the present under-paid and poorly-equipped negro workers out of future bread-lines. (Note 7)

One specific response was the institution of a series of job training programs for ULP constituents. Appendix B gives examples of several course outlines of these programs. The ULP was realistic in the selection of employment areas in which to train blacks. Courses for elevator operators, domestic service and waiting on tables dominated the lists. The intensity of the Depression clearly worked against the League's social change efforts and made the attainment of the "necessities of life" dominate the ULP's work even more completely than before.

In Conclusion

The purpose of this paper has been to describe the social and educational programs of the ULP for the years 1918-1932, and through such a description, to better understand the educational experiences of blacks outside the public schools. In order to accomplish this objective it was necessary to provide background on how the National Urban League evolved. It was also important to describe the social conditions of the times that were confronted by blacks during this period.

In this conclusion, some of the major themes noted earlier that influenced the work of the ULP will be discussed. In doing so, the analysis will not take the position of attempting to pass judgment on the actions of the League using contemporary standards of behavior. Rather, it will attempt to illuminate the League's actions in the context of their times and their social realities.

The Urban League in Pittsburgh began as a response to two major social developments: (1) the massive influx of impoverished Southern blacks; and, (2) the strong tendency among relief organizations and other social institutions to ignore the needs of this population. The ULP leadership from the beginning included white and black members as was typical of all Urban League affiliates of that period.

The goals of the organization were primarily: (1) to raise the consciousness of the larger community about the needs of blacks, (2) to improve the treatment of blacks in the workplace and in society generally; (3) to educate blacks in ways that would help them adjust to living in an urban, industrial society; and (4) to coordinate the work of social relief agencies in ways that would improve the treatment received by blacks.

The ULP undertook their efforts with a precarious financial base.

Much of the support that they did have came from white community leaders and industrialists. The League was never able to elicit much financial support from its own poverty-stricken constituency or from other black institutions. Poor finances were to plague the League throughout its early history. The ULP's budget during the period from 1920 to 1925 never exceeded $15,647.77 and only averaged approximately 11,000 annually.

The ULP initiated its program at a time when most social institutions were, at best, apprehensive about the rising numbers of blacks coming to Pittsburgh. It is fair to say that most of these institutions were either indifferent to the needs of blacks or were (as was the case with organized labor) openly hostile to them. There was a general sense among all of the social institutions of the time that viewed the black problem as best handled by members of their own race. This view served as the excuse of many to simply wash their hands of the problems confronted by blacks.

The hostility of the social environment faced by blacks was perhaps best typified by their experiences in the workplace. Thousands of blacks were imported by industry to the district during the period under study. Blacks came willingly, looking for better jobs and for relief from the social injustices of the South. When they arrived they found poor housing, dangerous or unhealthful employment, often at wages lower than their fellow white workers, who themselves often opposed Blacks getting any jobs at all. A black man did not have a friend in the workplace. It was clear to most observers of the period that industry valued blacks for the three reasons: (1) as a tool to use against organized labor; (2) as a source of cheap labor, labor willing to work below the regular wages; and, (3) as a replacement for the dwindling numbers of immigrants who had stood in the places of blacks before this period. In reviewing the actions of industry during this period, one is left with the impression of industrialists rising above their own racism and their sense of the inferiority of blacks in the name of exploitation of all workers, in the name of their own class interests.

Yet, if industrialists were no friends to the blacks, organized labor presented even less of a chance of finding an ally. The experience of J.T. Clark, executive director, ULP, before and during the great strike of 1919-1920 is illustrative. Blacks were not organized by unions, and indeed, blacks had good reason to believe that if a closed shop were attained they would lose their own positions. Given the choice, it is not surprising that many blacks chose work over striking, industry over organized labor. The League's program of welfare workers in the plants symbolized its own decision to try to improve conditions from within the existing industrial structure. While this effort clearly provided assistance to black workers it was also at times abused by management in its struggle with organized labor.

Given the hostility of the social environment for blacks, the ULP was constantly faced with trying to balance its efforts between social change efforts and work to "uplift" the blacks and to help them adjust. It is fair to say that the ULP was far more successful in assisting individual blacks than in changing social conditions confronted by them. In this regard, the original goal of the ULP to coordinate the efforts of other social relief agencies for the assistance of blacks were never realized. Institutional indifference remained, and, examples like the Pittsburgh Board of Education not hiring black teachers and only hiring a black home-school visitor by the mid-thirties was the rule, rather than the exception.

In some of the personal goal statements of League leadership, the notion of their serving as interpreters surfaced again and again. The League attempted to interpret the needs of blacks to the larger society and the realities of urban society to their own constituency. The difficulty of this effort can be understood when it is realized that the society was largely indifferent to the message and the black family could little afford the time to listen in its struggle to merely survive.

References Notes

[1] NLUCAN. Audited statement, fiscal year ending September 30, 1912. New York: NUL Headquarters.

[2] Letter from Jones, Secretary of NLUCAN to S.R. Morsell, Acting Secretary of the Council, Urban League Files, September 12, 1917.

[3] Minutes, Pittsburgh Council for Social Service Among Negroes, Urban League Files, January 15, 1918.

[4] Board of Public Education. *Pittsburgh individual reports to the survey commission*. Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Public Schools, 1927.

[5] Urban League of Pittsburgh. *Minutes of the executive board*. Pittsburgh: Urban League of Pittsburgh, November 19, 1919.

[6] Moss, R.M. *Annual message from the executive director*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: Urban League of Pittsburgh, 1930, p. 1

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Notes

[1] For example, the volume of immigration dropped from 1,197,892 in 1913 to 298,826 in 1916, to 110,618 in 1918. Commissioner General of Immigration. *Annual Reports*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1913-1918.

[2] The data extend to 1919 because of the importance of the great steel strike of that year during which thousands of blacks were brought to Pittsburgh " . . . thousands were brought in as strike-breakers." (Clayton et al., p. 79)

[3] This group evolved from the group that met with Jones plus an earlier committee, "The Association for the Improvement of Social Conditions in the Hill District of Pittsburgh" which had been functioning since October, 1914.

[4] The then director on NLUCAN, George Haynes, reported to his executive board on meetings held with AFL executives citing their "passage of a resolution . . . announcing their readiness to cooperate with the National League in organizing (negro workers)." (Parris & Brooks, 1971, p. 51)

[5] This support was essential to the survival of the ULP as its support among its own constituencies was minimal. This will be discussed in greater detail in the concluding section of this paper.

[6] A few of these can still be seen today along Penn Avenue, near the produce rail-yards.

[7] Prior to this time the home economics worker had initiated some contact with schools.

[8] Multiracial membership continues to be a characteristic among the one hundred and sixteen League affiliates today.

Table 1

Negro Population and Per Cent Increase by Race, 1910 and 1920, for Cities Having 25,000 or More Negroes in 1920

(*Source:* Computed from Fourteenth Census, 1920, vol. ii, tables 13, 14 and 17.)*

City	**Negro Population**		**Per Cent Increase**	**Per Cent Increase**
Northern	**1920**	**1910**		
Detroit, MI	40,838	5,741	611.3	107.0
Cleveland, OH	34,451	8,448	307.8	38.1
Chicago, IL	109,458	44,103	148.2	21.0
New York City	152,467	91,709	66.3	16.9
Manhattan	109,133	60,534	80.3	−4.3
Brooklyn	31,912	22,708	40.5	23.3
Indianapolis, IN	34,678	21,816	59.0	31.9
Philadelphia, PA	134,229	84,459	58.9	15.4
St. Louis, MO	69,854	43,960	58.9	9.4
Cincinnati, OH	30,079	19,639	53.2	7.9
Pittsburgh, PA	37,725	25,623	47.2	8.3
Kansas City, MO	30,719	23,566	30.4	30.6

*Taken from: Kennedy, L.V. *The negro peasant turns cityward*. New York: Ams Press, 1930.

Table 2

Negro and Total Population of Pittsburgh with Percentage of Negroes to Total: 1890-1930*

Year	Negroes	Total	Percent
1890	10,357	343,905	3.01
1900	20,355	451,512	4.5
1910	25,623	533,905	4.8
1920	37,725	588,343	6.4
1930	54,983	609,817	8.2

*Taken from: Moron, A.G. *Distribution of the negro population in Pittsburgh 1910-1930.* (Thesis). Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1933.

Table 3

List of Industrial Concerns Visited in the Pittsburgh District*

Name of Concern	No. of Negroes employed at present	No. employed prior to 1916	% doing unskilled labor	Wages per hour of unskilled labor	No. of hours per day
Carnegie Steel Co. (all plants)	4,000	1,500	95%	30c	8 to 12
Jones & Laughlin	1,500	400	100%	30c	10
Westinghouse Elec. & Mfg. Co.	900	25	90%	28-30c	10
Harbison & Walker	250	50	80%	27½c	10
National Tube Co. (all plants)	250	100	100%	30c	10
Pressed Steel Car Co.	25	25	50%	23c	11
Pgh. Forge & Iron	75	0	100%	30c	10
Moorhead Brothers	200	200	75%	30c	10
Am. Steel & Wire	25	25	100%	28-30c	10
Clinton Iron & Steel	25	25	75%		
Oliver Iron & Steel	50	0	100%	25-28c	10
Carbon Steel Co.	200	50	75%	30c	10-12
Crucible Steel Co.	400	150	90%	28-33c	10
A.M. Byers Co.	200	0	60%		10
Lockhart Steel Co.	160	0	95%	27½c	10
Mesta Machine Co.	50	0	100%	30c	10
U.S. Glass Co.			No Negroes employed		
Thompson-Sterret Co.			No Negroes employed		
Spang-Chalfant Co.			No Negroes employed		

*Taken from: Epstein, 1918, p. 31.

Appendix A

Plan of Work for Pittsburgh (1916)

The following program is recommended to the Pittsburgh Council for Social Service Among Negroes as one best adapted to the needs of the community. It indicated work to be accomplished during the first year. It also suggests committees to be appointed.

1. *Housing work* must be broad and cover both an effort to obtain more sanitary houses for Negroes to live in, as well as a less congested unhealthy and hence a less immoral living in houses, in certain parts of the city.

    a. An important part of this work can be done with the industrial plants employing large numbers of Negro migrants.

    b. The difficulties usually encountered in making headway with improved housing might be particularly overcome by encouraging the organization of a Building & Loan Association; by interesting real estate dealers and building owners who handle property in desirable districts, to improve the same for Negro tenants; and to urge individual home ownership.

2. *Industrial work* shall be an essential part of our program, including general employment, opening new opportunities and vocational guidance.

    a. The Secretary should make a special effort to reduce the large Negro labor turn-over in the various industrial plants by noon-day and Sunday talks, by distributing literature among them and by assisting corporations in getting the most reliable type of Negro labor and then seeing to it that this labor is properly treated and given opportunities for advancement.

    b. Vagrancy should not be tolerated in Pittsburgh while work is especially so plentiful. (By cooperating with the Police Department.)

3. *Health and Sanitary work* should be of vital interest to the Negroes of Pittsburgh. One of the first efforts should be made to begin a campaign to reduce the high illness and death rates among Negroes. In cooperation with the Bureau of Sanitation, physicians and negro institutions and organizations, and an

educational campaign should be waged giving wide publicity to the facts obtained and suggesting remedies concerning the following: (1) Congestion; (2) Care of Infants; (3) Carelessness in Dress; (4) Danger and use of Patent Medicines; (5) Improper Ventilation.

   a. Following this campaign a general effort should be made to clean up Negro neighborhoods, to obtain better and cleaner streets and sidewalks, better sanitary conditions through inspection, police service and if possible a free bath house for the Lower Hill District. (See Mr. Kaufmann.)

4. *Amusement and Recreation* are important factors in building up good citizenship among the population.

   a. Definite cooperation shall be established with such existing organizations as the YMCA, Washington Park Playground, settlements, and the churches which have facilities for such.

   b. Boy and Girl Clubs are to be organized under capable leaders.

   c. A supervised community dance would do much towards helping the young newcomers to better themselves.

5. *Delinquency work*, especially Juvenile, shall be handled in connection with the courts, probation officers and schools furnishing through our office Big Brothers and Sisters with an idea of organizing this work on a large scale later on.

   a. The penal and reformatory institutions serving the community shall be reached to help discharged or paroled prisoners to obtain a new start and be reclaimed for the good of themselves and society.

6. *Educational work* shall be confined to encouraging newcomers to send their children to school; encourage those who work to attend night schools and to use freely the Public Libraries.

   a. An Educational Committee could very nicely carry on this work holding public meetings, lectures, etc.

7. *Travelers' Aid Work* should be done as a result of the heavy Negro migration to Pittsburgh. Definite service might be ar-

ranged at the railroad stations for directing new-comers to reliable lodging and boarding places so as to protect them from unscrupulous environments.

a. Likewise, aid from the Police Department shall be sought to eliminate a large element of crooks and gamblers who thrive off the earnings of newly arrived migrants in the congested sections.

8. A close relationship must exist between our Charity Worker and the Associated Charities because our organization does not provide for relief.

9. An effort shall be made to develop the cooperation between the Welfare Organizations already existing in the community to prevent expensive duplication of work and to assure good feeling and harmony among workers.

10. The details of this work should be reviewed from time to time by an Executive Committee which should consist of from ten to fifteen persons chosen from the membership as a whole.

*Taken from: Stevenson, 1936, pp. 6-8.

Appendix B

*Program of the Waiter's Training Course**

January 7th, 14th, 21st, and
February 4th, 11th, 18th, and 25th
1931

Boy's Lobby of the
Center Avenue Branch Y.M.C.A.

1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY: Wednesday, January 7th, 9:00 P.M.

A valuable contribution on the subject of that intangible thing, Personality, which is little known or appreciated by the average worker.

SPEAKER: Dr. Ludwig Bernstein
Executive Director of Federation of Jewish
Philanthropy

2. THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RACE: Wednesday, January 14th, 9:00 P.M.

   An analytical treatment of the causes of racial discord and its bearing on our pursuit for a livelihood.

   SPEAKER: Ernest Rice McKinney
   Assistant to the Director of Kingsley House;
   Lecturer and writer on Human Relations

3. FANNING THE FLAMES: Wednesday, January 21st, 9:00 P.M.

   How thoughtless or malicious disregard of attitudes of employers or the public reacts upon workers of the race.

   SPEAKER: R. Maurice Moss
   Executive Secretary
   Pittsburg Urban League

4. SELF-ANALYSIS, ITS PURPOSE AND VALUE: Wednesday, January 28th, 9:00 P.M.

   How many of us really know ourselves as we are? How many of us frankly realize our weaknesses as well as our worth? Know Thyself is the first rule in the life of a well-rounded individual.

   SPEAKER: Dr. Lawrence S. Shaffer
   Professor of Psychology
   Carnegie Institute of Technology

5. MY PERFECT WAITER: Wednesday, February 4th, 9:00 P.M.

   An opportunity to hear, in a frank, complete, thoughtful presentation, just what the employer wishes in the point of service.

   SPEAKER: To be announced later.

6. THE SERVICE I PREFER: Wednesday, February 11th, 9:00 P.M.

   The business man and the club woman, upon whose demands our positions are dependent, tell what their demands are.

   SPEAKER: Mrs. Ralph W. Harbison

7. INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF A WAITER: Wednesday, February 25th, 9:00 P.M.

Two Headwaiters recall problems incidental to their advancement in the progression, and how they were solved.

SPEAKER: Two Headwaiters

8. PRESENTATION OF CERTIFICATES:

To all who have attended at least six sessions of the Minimum course.

PRESENTED BY: R. Templeton Smith
Urban League of Pittsburgh

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*Taken from Printed Material, *Urban League File*, 1931.

Program of Lecture Course for Elevator Operators, Bellmen and Attendants

Monday Evenings
October 9th to December 14th
1931
at the
Center Avenue Branch Y.M.C.A.

1. THE PUBLIC BE HANGED: Monday, October 19th, 8:15 P.M.

A state of mind frequently observed in public servants. What this attitude means to the commercial institution in dollars and cents and jobs, is another matter of serious import.

SPEAKER: Mrs. Charlotte Young
Employment Manager of one of the large department stores.

2. THE NEGRO WORKER — PAST AND PRESENT: Monday, October 26th, 8:15 P.M.

A summary of the working experiences and economic background of the Negro worker, and their effect upon his present status.

SPEAKER: E.P. Young
Welfare Worker and
Supervisor of Negro Labor.

3. THE EMPLOYEE'S VIEWPOINT: Monday, November 2nd, 8:15 P.M.

A frank, helpful exposition of the faults and virtues of white and colored workers, by one who has experienced working with both.

SPEAKER: R.W. Rawlings
Superintendent of a large Commercial Institution.

4. SIGNIFICANCE OF COMMON WORK HABITS: Monday, November 8th, 8:15 P.M.

Most of our actions are the result of deep-seated habits, whether good or bad. To what extent these habits determine our present and future status will be told.

SPEAKER: Oliver L. Johnson
Local Attorney

5. MISCONCEPTIONS AND OUR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THEM: Monday, November 16th, 8:15 P.M.

Half of the world knows nothing of the other half, but every individual has formed definite opinions of other groups. How we help form these conceptions about ourselves is a subject very skillfully handled by:

SPEAKER: R. Maurice Moss
Executive Secretary
Urban League of Pittsburgh

6. SELF-ANALYSIS, ITS PURPOSE AND VALUE: Monday, November 23rd, 8:15 P.M.

A journey of exploration into the mysterious regions of our own minds, with valuable suggestions for greater self-control.

SPEAKER: Dr. Lawrence S. Shaffer
Professor of Psychology
Carnegie Institute of Technology

7. SERVICE: Monday, November 30th, 8:15 P.M.

The economy of job-finding and job-handling, presented in terms of the marketing of the community "Service."

SPEAKER: Joseph Meyer
Executive of Department Store.

8. SEX IN EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS: Monday, December 7th, 8:15 P.M.

A frank treatment of a subject of paramount importance, yet which is invariably eliminated from serious consideration.

SPEAKERS: Henry K. Craft
Executive Secretary
Y.M.C.A., Pittsburgh

Grace S. Lowndes
Civic Secretary
Urban League of Pittsburgh

9. PRESENTATION OF CERTIFICATES: Monday, December 14th, 8:15 P.M.

PRESENTED BY: R.L. Wilson
President of the Urban League of Pittsburgh

Outline of Course in Home-Making

February-March 1932

1. INTRODUCTORY SESSION: Monday, February 9th, 8:15-10:00 P.M.

Purpose, aim, and scope of course. The place of the home in our modern life.

SPEAKER: R. Maurice Moss
Executive Secretary
Urban League of Pittsburgh

DEMONSTRATION

2. EATING FOR HEALTH: Monday, February 16th, 8:15-10:00 P.M.

The place of proper food and diet in the health of the family.

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SPEAKER: Miss Rena Eckmond
Dietician
Montefiore Hospital

3. GETTING THE MOST FOR YOUR DOLLAR: Monday, February 23rd, 8:15-10:00 P.M.

Budgeting, quantity buying, sales, club buying, etc.

SPEAKER: Mrs. David Victor
Case Worker
Jewish Associated Charities

DEMONSTRATION: Mrs. Ella Wallace
Bookkeeper at Ziegler Market

4. PREPARING THE FOOD: Monday, March 2nd, 8:15-10:00 P.M.

Oven dinners, one-dish dinners, table set-ups, etc.

SPEAKER: Mrs. Helen Wedekman
Educational Demonstrator
General Foods Corporation

DEMONSTRATION

5. THE CHILD IN THE HOME: Monday, March 9th, 8:15-10:00 P.M.

Clothing, regularity of habit, periodic medical examinations, ''know-the-teacher'' campaign, and use of clinics.

SPEAKER: Miss Henrietta Lund
Children's Division
Federation of Social Agencies

DEMONSTRATION: Dr. Marie Kinner

6. HEALTH IN THE HOME: Monday, March 16th, 8:15-10:00 P.M.

Sanitation, use of the City's facilities, etc.

SPEAKER: Miss Jeanette Washington
Registered Nurse
Public Health Nursing Association

MOTION PICTURE

7. HEALTH IN THE HOME: Monday, March 23rd, 8:15-10:00 P.M.

Cases of illness, convalescents and their care.

SPEAKER: Miss Lillian M. Hobart
Social Service Department
West Penn Hospital

DEMONSTRATION: William S. Howell
Welfare Worker
Pittsburgh Coal Company

8. MAKING SOMETHING OUT OF NOTHING: Monday, March 30th, 8:15-10:00 P.M.

Originality in home decorations.

SPEAKER: Mrs. Lucy P. Mickey
Superintendent
Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Women

Outline of Course in Home-Making

March-April 1982

1. INTRODUCTORY SESSION: Thursday, March 3rd, 7:45-9:30 P.M.

Purpose, aim, and scope of the course. The place of the home in our modern life.

SPEAKER: R. Maurice Moss
Executive Secretary
Urban League of Pittsburgh

DEMONSTRATOR: Miss Mary Tocas
Teacher of Home Economics
A one-dish dinner

2. THRIFT SESSION: Thursday, March 10th, 7:45-9:30 P.M.

The place of meat in the diet and its source.

SPEAKER: Mrs. Ella Wallace
Ziegler Meat Market

DEMONSTRATOR: Mrs. Julia Bumry Jones
Main dish — to serve eight; cost 31¢

3. EATING FOR HEALTH: Thursday, March 17th, 7:45-9:30 P.M.

The place of proper food and dieting in the health of the family.

SPEAKER: Dr. S. Marie Kinner

DEMONSTRATOR: Mrs. Sadie DeMund Lynch

DISCUSSION LEADER: Mrs. Margaret Writt

4. PREPARATION FOR HOME MAKING: Thursday, March 24th, 7:45-9:30 P.M.

How Southern schools are preparing home-makers

SPEAKER: Miss Marjorie Weldon Smith
Freedman's Board
Pittsburgh Presbytery

DEMONSTRATOR: Miss Mary Tocas

5. FOR WOMEN WHO WORK OUT: Thursday, March 31st, 7:45-9:30 P.M.

Oven dinners — One Dish Dinners — Table Set Up.

SPEAKER: Mrs. Christina Jeffries

SPECIAL DEMONSTRATION: Mrs. Carrie Wilson —
Rolls.

6. PROTECTION IN THE HOME: Thursday, April 7th, 7:45-9:30 P.M.

Insurance and a few of the other forms of protection offered by modern developments.

SPEAKER: Miss Fannie Dunbar
Provident Life and Trust Company of
Pittsburgh

DEMONSTRATOR: Mrs. Viola Battles —
Pin Wheel Cookies

7. HEALTH IN THE HOME: Thursday, April 14th, 7:45-9:30 P.M.

Sanitation — Use of Public Utilities — The Plumber safeguards the health of the nation.

SPEAKER: Mr. John Galbreath
Master Plumber

DEMONSTRATOR: Miss Mary Tocas

8. EFFICIENCY IN THE HOME: Thursday, April 21st, 7:45-9:30 P.M.

Some modern aids to successful home-making — Their uses and abuses.

SPEAKER: John R. Branch
Philadelphia Company

DEMONSTRATOR: Miss Mary Tocas
Miss Cora Lee, Salem, Ohio.

The Educating of Minority Children: Nothing New Under the Sun?

Timothy Reagan
University of Illinois

American educators and educational policy-makers have been far from strangers to controversy historically, and this is a tendency which has not been abandoned in recent decades. One of the most controversial debates which has taken place in American society in general, and within educational circles in particular, since the 1960s has been centered on how best the needs of minority language children in public schools can be met. Beginning with the enactment of Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1968, and continuing with the Bilingual Education Act of 1974, there has been a formal commitment on the part of the American educational community to meeting these needs through bilingual education programs. This commitment has been considerably less than uniform, however, and resistance to bilingual education programs — as well as to the commitment to "cultural pluralism" which, for many educators, such programs represent[1] — has increased dramatically of late. The debate between advocates and opponents of bilingual education is certainly one of the most vociferous in the educational community, with each side maintaining that the empirical evidence supports its position, and, more important, that affinity with its position is required by any commitment to "reason," "justice," and "democracy."[2]

The interesting part of this debate has been that both sides seem to assume that there are no worthwhile historical precedents from which either position might be able to draw support. Indeed, a careful reading of the relevant literature on bilingual education would lead one to assume that the significant issues in the debate are fairly new ones. There have been, of course, attempts by supporters of bilingual education to demonstrate the presence of bilingual education in the United States in the nineteenth century and before (especially for the case of German-American communities[3]), as well as attempts by immigrant groups to maintain their languages outside of the context of public schooling. Opponents, on the other hand, have stressed historical precedent for ethnic conflict and divisiveness, as well as concentrating on the efforts from *within* the various immigrant communities for English-language acquisition and assimilation into the mythical "melting pot" of American society.[4] These lapses into the historical setting of bilingual education in the United States, however, have been presented as, at best, tangentially related to the "real" issues. The fundamental arguments, both supportive and critical, of the bilingual education controversy have been consistently seen as essentially novel in character.

In this paper, it will be argued that such a presentation of the issues is misleading, and that not only the issues surrounding bilingual education, but the arguments themselves, can be traced back at least over 150 years. The argument presented here will be based, to a large extent, on a booklet published in 1821 in Dublin, in which the author, a Dr. Charles Orpen, presented the case for using the Irish language as a means of instruction for those who spoke it as a native language.[5] This booklet, which was written to serve as a "compendious refutation of every prejudice"[6] against the use of Irish as a medium of instruction, is of interest for us today since, as will be shown below, both the "prejudices" and the "refutations" are in essence those which appear time and again in the debates on contemporary bilingual education programs. It should be noted that this work is but one of an entire *genre* of related publications which appeared in Ireland during the first half of the nineteenth century, all concerned with arguing for the merits of vernacular language instruction.[7]

A few words are in order here about both the nature and the organizational structure of Dr. Orpen's treatise. The booklet, entitled *The Claim of Millions of Our Fellow-Countrymen of Present and Future Generations To Be Taught in Their Own and Only Language: The Irish,*[8] identifies twenty arguments commonly used against the use of native-language instruction (both for literacy and for the necessary acquisition of English), and then seeks to offer a repudiation of each. As Dr. Orpen notes in his dedication, his objective is to argue that vernacular language education is:

> the best means . . . of Christian instruction, and of speedier acquisition of English . . .[9]

Although Dr. Orpen's primary, explicit goal was in large part a religious one, the arguments he presents are basically pedagogical ones, and are therefore relevant and worthy of discussion today in the context of the debate surrounding bilingual education programs. In the remainder of this paper, several of the arguments advanced by Dr. Orpen will be examined in light of current educational debate on the proper approach to the schooling of minority language children.

After an initial, albeit fairly lengthy, discussion of the extent to which Irish was actually a commonly-used language, Dr. Orpen begins the central component of his booklet by addressing the claim that "Almost all, who speak Irish, understand English also."[10] This sort of claim should hardly strike anyone familiar with the problems of contemporary minority language children in the public schools as unusual — replace "Irish" with "Spanish," "Vietnamese," etc., and one is left with a belief all too common among many classroom teachers, who remain convinced that their students understand vastly more than they let on. Dr.

Orpen offers three arguments to refute this claim, each of which may well be applied just as adequately to the contemporary scene.

First, Dr. Orpen cites a limited body of empirical evidence (actually based to a considerable extent on various writers' observations) to the effect that there was a reasonably sizable body of speakers for whom this was simply not true — individuals who had "a knowledge of some few En[glish] words, [but could] not speak five sentences, nor comprehend a continued conversation, discourse, or book in it . . ."[11] Basically what is being suggested here is the fairly reasonable notion that within a language community there are likely to be a not insignificant number of monolingual speakers, and that this needs to be taken into account by those involved in the process of education in the community (and especially so where another language is politically and/or socially dominant).

Dr. Orpen's second and third arguments against the claim that nearly all those who spoke Irish also understood English are considerably more compelling, and, for his time, more original, than the first. He notes that *any* language is used in a variety of different "departments" (what we would today label "spheres"), and that the ability to function adequately in one "department" (e.g., the marketplace) in no way assures a similar competence in another (e.g., the school).[12] This is an important facet of "speaking a language" which educators need to take into account when assessing the language competence of minority language children, and one which is all too often overlooked by school personnel anxious to transfer such children to "regular" (i.e., monolingual English) classes as rapidly as possible.

This concept of the "departments" of a language is related to Dr. Orpen's third argument, which is essentially a critique of the notion of "fluency." Perhaps over-stating the case somewhat, Dr. Orpen asserts that:

> There can therefore be no doubt, that the degree in which the great body of the native Ir[ish] peasantry understand En[glish] is quite compatible with absolute ignorance . . . so far as En[glish] is concerned, of abstract reasoning upon any given subject whatever.[13]

In short, the concept of "fluency" is one difficult of definition, and we need to be quite careful that we not assume *ipso facto* that a minority language child with an apparent fluency in English is actually cognitively competent in his/her second language.

The second "prejudice" refuted by Dr. Orpen is the claim that "The Irish have no marked attachment to their language, and are even ashamed of it."[14] Once again, this is the sort of assertion which has been made of innumerable linguistic minorities in the United States. Two counter-arguments are proposed by Dr. Orpen as refutations of such claims. The first is that such a claim is, to a considerable extent, counter-intuitive unless we presuppose that the Irish are either irrational or unlike any and all other nationalities and national groups:

> . . . how come they have retained it so long; as if glorying in that, which the objector calls their shame? Was this ever asserted of any other nation, or would it be believed if it were?[15]

This is not, of course, to suggest that an admission of one's ignorance of another's language may not, in some instances, constitute cause for feelings of unease. Such feelings are to be expected from most reasonably sensitive individuals, however, and in no way prove "shame" of one's native language. The second component of Dr. Orpen's refutation of the claim that the Irish are ashamed of their language, then, is that:

> The Irish may, it is true, feel awkward, when acknowledging in our presence their ignorance of English; just as we, if in Spain, should, in confessing our incompetency to converse in Spanish. But this is not shame in either case.[16]

Such a point could undoubtedly be profitably borne in mind by many classroom teachers in their dealings with children from non-English speaking backgrounds. To mistake a legitimate and sensitive concern for shame is an error of potentially grave pedagogical (not to mention psychological) consequence.

A common objective to contemporary bilingual education programs is that the parents of minority language children are opposed to such efforts, and that the primary concern of these parents is for their children to acquire English (primarily for economic reasons). Although such assertions may well be grounded in misunderstandings of the nature and goals of bilingual education programs in the United States,[17] it is nonetheless interesting to note that such objections are far from novel. One of the most current "prejudices" cited by Dr. Orpen is that:

> The Irish are anxious to have their children taught English.[18]

Dr. Orpen's refutation could quite easily be offered by any modern-day advocate of bilingual education. He begins by granting the veracity of the claim, and goes on to note that this is a wise move on the parents' part, since "by it alone is profit or preferment to be acquired."[19] However, this in no way is to be taken to suggest a lack of concern for the maintenance of the children's native tongue, nor in any way to mitigate the fact that the parents "are strongly attached to their language."[20] In short, economic incentives for second language acquisition, while undeniably potent, do not in and of themselves constitute an argument against continued use of, or even education in, the individual's native language. Such arguments are, in Dr. Orpen's words, "totally irrelevant to the matter in dispute."[21]

Far more relevant to the question of vernacular language instruction, however, is the claim that:

> Teaching to read Irish, discourages learning English.[22]

This is an important, and controversial issue which touches on a number of central concerns in contemporary bilingual education programs. Dr. Orpen responds to this assertion by offering critiques on three quite distinct grounds. First, in terms of pedagogical effectiveness, Dr. Orpen cites evidence (based on experience with Welsh, rather than Irish Gaelic, speakers) that:

> . . . previous instruction in their native tongue, helps [the learners] to learn En[glish] much sooner; instead of proving any inconvenience.[23]

Thus, according to Orpen, the most efficacious method of ensuring the acquisition of English (at least in pedagogical terms) is through initial instruction in the native language. This is an empirical claim which has been gaining support in recent years as research on second language learning (especially vis-à-vis minority language groups) is conducted.[24] It is, incidentally, just such an assumption which undergirds much of the work in literacy development of Paulo Freire.[25]

The second component of Dr. Orpen's rejection of the claim that by teaching literacy in the native language the acquisition of English is discouraged is primarily economic in nature. Once again noting the economic and social importance of English, Dr. Orpen rhetorically asks:

> Will enabling the poor to read . . . Irish . . . diminish their self-interested motives to learn En[glish]; the only language of the rich, and the sole road to promotion . . .?[26]

Last, Dr. Orpen suggests that by encouraging the development of literacy in the individual's native language we are, in the long term, also instilling (albeit indirectly) the eventual desire for the acquisition of a language in which more material on a greater variety of topics is available — that is, for what today would be called a "language of wider communication" (LWC).[27] Dr. Orpen comments,

> Will not their knowing one book, awaken or augment the wish to know others; and where are these to be found except in En[glish]? . . . is the thirst for knowledge more ardent, among the uneducated and illiterate, or among the instructed and enlightened?[28]

The "prejudice" cited by Dr. Orpen which may well still have the widest circulation in educational circles is that:

> Teaching English at once [i.e., initially] is easier and also more expeditious.[29]

This belief lies at the heart of the effort to utilize ESL (English as a Second Language) methodology rather than bilingual methodology in meeting the needs of minority language speakers in the public schools. Dr. Orpen begins his refutation by arguing that it is a truism that:

> Every man is more speedily instructed by his own language, than by any other . . .[30]

And continues by suggesting that:

> Were the broad questions asked, through what language can . . . any instruction be given most easily, speedily, and efficiently to a people? The answer undoubtedly would be: through that which they understand best and love most: the language of their thoughts and feelings.[31]

In a recent article concerned with providing a synthesis of research findings relevant to bilingual education programs, Rudolph Troike, a national leader in the field, observed that one of the fundamental premises of such programs is that:

> People are more likely to learn anything, including English, if they understand what they are being taught.[32]

This not only leaves one with a feeling of *déjà vu*, but serves to emphasize how little the basic arguments about vernacular language education have changed during the last century and a half.

The provision of special education programs for minority language children is often a complicated affair, beset by problems unique to such efforts. In many instances in the United States, attempts to provide bilingual education programs for certain native American populations have been seriously hampered by the need to codify previously unwritten languages, and the subsequent lack of curricular materials in these languages. The variation in language (which includes lexical and syntactic, as well as phonological, differences) has hindered not only bilingual education programs in a number of languages, but has also presented serious educational problems in the schooling of speakers of minority dialects of English (most notably, speakers of Black English).[33] Such troubles, although certainly serious, are far from the relatively recent phenomena that the literature might lead one to suspect.

The orthographic problems presented by the need to codify many indigenous American languages have their precedents in the earlier codifications of other languages — most importantly in the alphabetic systems which predominate among the world's written languages. Dr. Orpen was himself clearly aware of the potential problems which might arise through orthographic change and development. It should be recalled that the question of whether to use the Irish or the Roman (i.e., English) alphabet was a major issue in the Irish revitalization movement. The position taken by Dr. Orpen in this debate was, predictably enough, in favor of the Irish alphabet. His argument began by noting the close similarity of the two alphabets. Consider, for instance, the following rendering of a line from Corinthians:

> I am made all things to all men.
> I am made all things to all men.[34]

However, given the fact that there are, nevertheless, some significant differences between the two alphabets,[35] Dr. Orpen concludes his defense of the use of the native Irish alphabet with an argument which is every bit as timely today as it was in 1821:

> . . . the only plausible reason, for using the Roman character in printing Irish books, is, that it may . . . facilitate the future acquisition of English reading . . . [However,] far from facilitating, it will impede. For there are many letters, and combinations of letters, in Irish, which have a power or sound, totally different from what the same letters have in English. Consequently, if, in learning the former, certain sounds have become associated with these in mind; the learner, when he commences in English, will have to unlearn so much . . . or else he will be led into endless mistakes, and be disgusted with the attempt . . .[36]

I daresay that anyone who has tried to teach Spanish to English-speakers (or even who has heard broadcasters pronounce the Spanish /hunta/ as /junta/), would support Dr. Orpen's fears wholeheartedly. Indeed, although rarely discussed, orthographic interference in second language learning is undoubtedly highly problematic for many students.[37]

Without going into further detail here, let me note that even with respect to the question of variation among the different dialects of a language — a problem which we are today just beginning to recognize and learn to deal with in our own language — Dr. Orpen is not caught unaware. He includes in his treatise both a brief analysis of the phonetic and lexical variation in Irish (and, more broadly, in Gaelic), and a comparison of the extent to which such variation affects Irish and English.[38]

In sum, what has been attempted here is to suggest that many of the controversies which surround contemporary efforts to provide for the special educational needs of minority language speakers are, in fact, neither so novel nor so original as those involved seem to assume. It has been said that the only thing that we learn from history is that we don't learn from history. Unfortunately, in this case, the "joke" isn't so much on us as it is on the children from non-English speaking backgrounds who are awaiting an answer to a very old question.

Notes

[1] See, for example, Richard Pratte, *Pluralism in Education* (Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 1979).

[2] See Nicholas Appleton, "Democracy and Cultural Pluralism: Ideals in Conflict," presented at the Thirty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the Philosophy of Education Society in Baltimore, Maryland (March 26-29, 1982).

[3] Heinz Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition* (Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1977), and Kathy Escamilla, "German-English Bilingual Schools, 1879-1917," *Bilingual Journal* 5,2 (Winter 1980): 16-20, are both excellent examples of this.

[4] See, for example, Mark Krug, *The Melting of the Ethnics* (Bloomington, IN: Phi Delta Kappa, 1976).

[5] Charles Edward H. Orpen, *The Claim of Millions of Our Fellow-Countrymen of Present and Future Generations To Be Taught in Their Own and Only Language: The Irish* (Dublin: R.M. Tims, 1821).

[6] Orpen, "Dedication."

[7] See, for example, Henry Jos. Monck Mason, *The Irish Language as a Medium for Conveying Scriptural Instruction to the Native Peasantry of Ireland* (Dublin: M. Goodwin, 1829).

[8] Orpen.

[9] Orpen, "Dedication."

[10] Ibid., p. 20.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., p. 27.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] See Timothy Reagan, "Bilingual Education: A Reevaluation of Objectives," *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society* 8 (1980): 15-25.

[18] Orpen, p. 30.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid., p. 27.

[21] Ibid., p. 30.

[22] Ibid., p. 36.

[23] Ibid., p. 37.

[24] See Rudolph C. Troike, *Research Evidence for the Effectiveness of Bilingual Education* (Rosslyn, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 1978).

[25] See Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Seabury Press, 1970); Cynthia Brown, *Literacy in 30 Hours: Paulo Freire's Process in North East Brazil* (Chicago: Center for Open Learning and Teaching, 1978); and Manfred Peters, "L'utilisation de la pédagogie de Paolo Freire avec des groupes d'enfants de migrants," In Peter H. Nelde et al., eds., *Sprachprobleme bei Gastarbeiterkindern* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1981), pp. 87-100.

[26] Orpen, p. 37.

[27] See Joshua A. Fishman, ed., *Advances in the Study of Societal Multilingualism* (The Hague: Mouton, 1978), for examples of the usage of the term "LWC."

[28] Orpen, p. 38.

[29] Ibid., p. 39.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Rudolph C. Troike, "Synthesis of Research on Bilingual Education," *Educational Leadership* 38,6 (March 1981): 498.

[33] See Arthur Brown, ed., *The Ann Arbor Black English Case* (Gainesville, FL: The John Dewey Society, 1980).

[34] Orpen, p. 48.

[35] Ibid., pp. 48-49.

[36] Ibid., p. 48.

[37] Such interference could easily be incorporated along with the other sorts identified in Uriel Weinreich, *Languages in Contact* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968)

[38] Orpen, pp. 24-25.

Social Darwinism, Race, and Research*

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Introduction

It is this paper's contention that research in the field of education has done much more than just answer questions about education and students. Rather, research itself has determined the way in which education has been structured and the way in which students have been educated: that is, research itself has been one of the major influences on educational policy in the 20th century.

The second contention of this paper is that research, in its present form, causes educators to look for, and find, the differences between students rather than the similarities. As a corollary, this paper will show that the purpose of the originators of modern educational research was to find differences in intelligence between racial groups and national groups. The originators of research believed in eugenics and wanted to improve the human race by selective breeding of certain racial and national groups. In order to prove the need for selective breeding, they developed methodologies that would show the cognitive differences between groups without looking for the similarities among the groups.

This paper is organized into four sections (1) Philosophies of Educational Research, which discusses the "prescientific" period of the early and mid-19th century; (2) Race and Educatonal Research, which discusses the founders of modern statistical techniques, particularly Sir Francis Galton and Karl Pearson; (3) Efficiency, Race and Educational Research, which discusses the efficiency expert movement and how it used research to bring the statistics of Galton and Pearson into education; and (4) Tests, Race and Educational Research, which discusses the "individualized education" movement with particular emphasis on Edward Thorndike.

The purpose of the paper is to demonstrate the importance of Education Research as a determinant of Educational Policy and Practice; and, to show the impact of racism on research technology and the effect of research technology on racism.

This is a protagonistic paper. It presents a point of view and, in its conclusion, suggests alternatives to present research methodology.

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*Reprinted from *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* January-February, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1981, pages 55-69. With permission of the author and publisher.

Philosophies of Educational Research

Philosophy as research. Previous to the 1880's, there was little or no educational research in the modern sense of the word. Most educational theory and practice was based on either professional lore or the insights of philosophers. Herbart, for example, is often considered the father of modern educational theory and practice in that many of his innovations were basis of later theorists and researchers. However, Herbart did not do "research." His theories were based on his own reasoned a priori arguments and insight.

Up to the time of Herbart and during most of his lifetime, educational theory and practice were often closely connected. More accurately, educational practice was based on educational theory. That is, the insights, philosophical constructs, and theories became the basis for educational practice. Rarely were these theories based on empirical data but rather on the speculations of philosophers. The educational practitioner accepted or rejected the philosophy for his or her own practice on the basis of whether or not the philosophy matched with his or her own experience.

> Herbart (1776-1841) was both a philosopher and psychologist, though his psychology would hardly be classed as such today. It was speculative psychology, an effort to develop a comprehensive, consistent, and coherent explanation of such things as the human mind and will. (Beck, 1965, p. 96)

This was the situation up through most of the life of Herbart. Even before Herbart, with the 18th century works of Locke, Berkeley, Hume and others, a break between philosophy and psychology had been in the making. In the latter quarter of the 19th century, a major split developed between theory and practice. The split was a peculiar one in that the practice became the basis for a new set of theories rather than the theories being the basis for practices. What occurred was the massive growth of empirical and experimental studies in psychology and education. These studies were not theoretically based but rather were based on data out of which theory was then developed, that is, induction replaced deduction.

Science as research. In the first three quarters of the 19th century, then, educational research was largely deductive; that is, argument from the theoretical or a priori propositions to specific conclusions. In the latter quarter of the 19th century there was a shift to a form of induction, namely, argument from specific findings or "facts" to the more general theory. The shift had occurred a number of centuries earlier in the physical and natural sciences, particularly from the time of Gallileo onward. This shift to induction, which was often taken to its mindless extreme where there was a blind adherance to following specific facts without regard to the overall picture, occurred in education or psychology in the mid to late 1800's.

The leading early figure in this movement was Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1926). Wundt was particularly interested in the study of perception and sensation. However, his primary contribution in terms of educational practice was his development of "scientific investigation." Wundt did not start from theory and work toward experimentation but rather began with laboratory experiments and moved to theory. All of Wundt's experiments were laboratory based rather than field based. He was, however, one of the first psychologists to make extensive use of experimentation in addition to insight and speculation as a base for his work. Wundt had three students who would later become major forces in the scientific study of education: G. Stanley Hall (1846-1924), who originated many studies of childhood and adolescence; James McKeen Cattell (1860-1944) who helped originate the measurement movement in American education; and Charles Judd (1873-1946), who was one of the major forces behind the "scientific" study of education (Beck, 1965).

Wundt's definition of "scientific study" was rather specific, namely, the quantified analysis of particular attributes. Scientific study took a very specific problem (e.g., perception), took it out of its social and psychological context, quantified it so that an operational definition of the specific attribute could be achieved, and then attempted to fit it with other specific attributes in order to determine if a theory could be developed. This is a quantified-separatist approach. It is a compartmentalization of knowledge and theory building. There was no attempt in the new scientism to look at the entire organism in its milieu at the same time.

The advantages of this approach are obvious from the standpoint of the researcher. Once an answer is arrived at, it is operationalized as the answer that is true. For example, if we were to operationalize native intelligence as the score on an I.Q. test (which is done all too often), then it would be possible for us to determine the "native intelligence" of a student or group of people. Theoretically, anyone else who performs the same study with the same operational definitions would come up with the same answers.

The disadvantages of this method are that it is specific to those variables that are chosen for quantification. There is no attempt in the research study to develop a holistic or more general approach. The holistic approach is of course the primary advantage of the speculative philosophical approach. The disadvantage of the speculative approach is that, while it attempts to explain the universe of a particular topic, it is not possible to replicate the speculation of an individual philosopher.

The scientific approach grew rapidly during the last decade of the 19th century and the first two decades of the 20th, and is still with us in great measure today. However, Wundt's scientism would not have grown so rapidly if there had not been social pressures to enhance it. This paper looks at at least two major social pressures that enhanced the scientific movement and that have determined the type of research which is practiced today and therefore the type of education and educational theory which is practiced today. The two social pressures to be discussed are the Cult of Racism and the Cult of Efficiency.

Race and Educational Research

Science and Social Darwinism. Although scientific investigation had been started by Wundt and others in the social sciences during the 19th century, a new methodology was needed that could prove to the researcher and the public that the findings were indeed significant and had not just occurred by chance. In this way it was hoped that practical decisions could be made using research. This need was being met by two English scholars: Sir Francis Galton, the founder of the International Society of Eugenics, and Karl Pearson, a mathematician who developed such statistics as chi square, correlation coefficient, and a host of others. These two men had perhaps a greater influence on educational research than any others. They were to develop the procedures of analysis which could be combined with Wundt's quantified specific scientism to determine the statistical truth of an hypothesis. Their methods are still the basis for most statistical procedures. The whole concept of statistically significant differences between two groups was given its greatest impetus by these two men. They are the founders of one of the most prestigious journals in the field of statistics, the journal *Biometrika*. This journal was of tremendous importance in determining the direction of the future growth of statistical procedures especially in the fields of education and psychology.

It is important to understand the mind set of Galton and Pearson at the time in which they were developing their statistical procedures, because this will give us a number of insights as to the present practice of educational research. One thing must be made clear from the outset. Both Galton and Pearson were overt racists. That is not to say that they were terribly different from other persons of their time. Although there was a growing feeling on the part of a great number of people that nonwhites were intellectually on a par with whites, there were also many, particularly in Great Britain and the United States, who held that nonwhites, particularly blacks, were inferior.

If the matter had ended there, the damage might have been limited to individual rather than societal racism. However, this was also the period of Darwin's investigations into natural selection of species and the survival of the fittest. His theories were brought over to the human realm by Social Darwinists. Here Darwin's arguments were both reversed and were used to argue for the status quo. Whereas Darwin had said that through natural selection certain species survive, the Social Darwinists said that those species which had survived were by their very nature superior. It was more a social Calvinism that Social Darwinism. Those who were predestined to be "good" proved it by being good, while those predestined to be "bad" proved it by being bad. This was used in the human realm to argue, for example, that the captains of industry must, by their very nature, be superior because they were indeed on the top of the heap.

Galton's Hereditary Genius. Sir Francis Galton, who was Darwin's cousin, combined Darwin's theory of natural selection with Wundt's scientific quantitative specificity by investigating hereditary genius. Galton defined genius in terms of product, that is, if a person had produced a great number of significant products (books, paintings, music, political leadership, etc), he was considered a genius, assuming that his peers thought he was brilliant as well. Galton then, in an almost simple-minded separatist fashion, investigated whether the male children of this male genius were also geniuses. He determined that indeed genius was hereditary in that there were more geniuses who had geniuses for offspring than could be accounted for by chance. In his study, however, he did not take into account the social status of the subjects, the ability of the successful genius parents to provide better educational opportunities and special privileges for their offspring, and so forth. He further did not include the genius rating of the mother, because it was Galton's belief that women were not the cause of genius. In point of fact, Galton did not discuss women at all.

The problem with this separatist methodology is that, then as now, there is very good evidence to support the fact that those who are in positions of power, whether they are geniuses or not, are more able to provide the tools necessary to achieve success than those who are not in power. Galton did not take into account the social forces which always influence characteristics such as "genius," "intelligence," and so forth. Once he had taken his specific quantified attribute (genius), he then went further and stated that certain classes and races of people, through selective breeding, showed far more hereditary genius than others. It was his contention that this proved that Darwin's theories held for the human species as well as others, although no one before or since has ever been able to prove that genius is a positive survival characteristic. (It may be, for example, that in modern merchantile society, shrewdness or creativity or deviance are more valuable.)

To quote directly from Galton (1952):

> Every long-established race has necessarily its peculiar fitness for the conditions under which it has lived, owing to the sure operation of Darwin's law of natural selection . . . civilization is the necessary fruit of high intelligence when found in a social animal, and there is no plainer lesson to be read off the face of Nature than that the result of the operation of her laws is to evoke intelligence in connection with sociability. Intelligence is as much an advantage to an animal as physical strength or any other natural gift, and therefore, *out of two varieties of any race of animal who are equally endowed in other respects, the most intelligent variety is sure to prevail in the battle of life*. (Italics added) (p. 336)

An example of Galton's methodology might be helpful. Galton began by classifying all men (again, he did not discuss women) into classes labeled "A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I," and "A" being the lowest and "I" being the highest. He stated that the intervals between the classes were equal, that is, imbeciles and morons (class A) were about as different from laborers and workmen (class B) as were political leaders (class D) from scientists and thinkers (class E). This was done so that it would be possible to quantify the classes and show the differences between groups and races of peoples. He further stated that a member of a class in one race or country should have the same relative intelligence as a similar class member in another race or country, that is, a political leader in Africa exhibits the same ability to hold sway over his people as a political leader in England. That is not to imply that the African and the Englishman are of the same ability, but rather that they hold the same relative status in their specific society. In brief, an African chief is brighter than an African worker while an English prime minister is brighter than an English worker.

Galton (1952) investigated the relative intelligence of African chiefs and English prime ministers in the following fashion in his chapter, "The Comparative Worth of Different Races." He states that he had discussed the issue with a great many men who had visited Africa and found that English hunters and explorers, who are only of Class C, in almost every instance, conquer and override the powers of the African chief who is of Class E in his society. From this, Galton says that the English are at least two full classes of greater ability than the Africans, because a lower class (Class C) of English can overcome a higher class of African (Class E). In order to give a clear picture of Galton's mind set, I quote two paragraphs from "The Comparative Worth of Different Races" in *Hereditary Genius:*

> Thirdly, we may compare, but with much caution, the relative position of negroes in their native country with that of the travellers who visit them. The latter, no doubt, bring with them the knowledge current in civilized lands, but that is an advantage of less importance than we are apt to suppose. A native chief has as good an education in the art of ruling men, as can be desired; he is continually exercised in personal government, and

> usually maintains his place by the ascendency of his character, shown every day over his subjects and rivals. A traveller in wild countries also fills, to a certain degree, the position of a commander, and has to confront native chiefs at every inhabited place. The result is familiar enough — the white traveller almost invariably holds his own in their presence. It is seldom that we hear of a white traveller meeting with a black chief whom he feels to be the better man. I have often discussed this subject with competent persons, and can only recall a few cases of the inferiority of the white man, — certainly not more than might be ascribed to an average actual difference of three grades, of which one may be due to the relative demerits of native education, and the remaining two to a difference in natural gifts.
>
> Fourthly, the number among the negroes of those whom we should call half-witted men, is very large. Every book alluding to negro servants in America is full of instances. I was myself much impressed by this fact during my travels in Africa. The mistakes the negroes made in their own matters, were so childish, stupid, and simpleton-like, as frequently to make me ashamed of my own species. I do not think it an exaggeration to say, that their C is as low as our E, which would be a difference of two grades, as before. I have no information as to actual idiocy among the negroes — I mean, of course, of that class of idiocy which is not due to disease. (p. 338)

Galton, in his study, only discussed the outcome; he did not discuss the social and technological setting. To start with, the English hunters had guns while the African chiefs had spears. This did give the English hunters an advantage that would raise their abilities off the edge of Galton's class scales. England at this point in history was technologically advanced over the relatively agrarian civilization of Africa. If Galton's studies had been completed 500 or 600 years earlier, the results would have been considerably different. North Africa was then at the height of its intellectual and spiritual power and England was a feudal backwater. As another example, some doubt would have been cast on Galton's statements that Italians are less capable than English, particularly if the study had been performed at the height of the Roman Empire. It must be remembered, however, that Galton's mind set was that of a mid-Victorian Englishman who truly believed, without animosity, that the English were indeed the "great White Hope" and the future of civilization. The point is that Galton's ethnocentricity blinded him to both the lessons of technology and history.

Galton took this concept of Social Darwinism and the British as the superior men as both an augury of a possible magnificent future for the human race and as a great danger. If the British (particularly the Scots) could consolidate their race, they would certainly overcome all of the other races, and the human species would become even greater than it then was. However, if the British allowed themselves to be "mongrolized," then their excellent strain would be diluted and humanity would certainly not improve and might be diminished in its future possibilities. Out of this came Galton's founding of the International Society for Eugenics.

Because Galton was interested in proving the intellectual differences between peoples (particularly races), he always looked for differences rather than for similarities. All of the statistical procedures which he developed led, in Pearson's and Fisher's work, to the construct of statistically significant differences. This eventuated in our present research where there is no commonly used statistic defining the degree of *similarity* between two or more groups.

There is no particular reason for having tests of statistically significant differences rather than tests of statistically significant similiarities. Both are based on the normal curve and the mathematics are not more complex in one or the other.[1] One of the primary reasons that we test for statistical differences today is because the originators of the statistical procedures were racists, and for racists, differences are more important than similarities.

It should be pointed out that Darwin used the term "race" quite differently then did Galton and Pearson or than is common today. Darwin used "race" and "species" interchangeably. That is, for Darwin, there was a human race but not a black race. Galton and Pearson used "race" quite differently, and unfortunately, quite similarly to our present usage. To define Caucasian or Negro or Oriental in the Darwinian sense of race would be difficult in the extreme because there is very little purity of race and a good deal of mixture between and among the races. To put it another way, the Chinese and Japanese and Mongols and Native Americans (some nations only) are all of the Oriental stock. Scandanavians, Italians, and Arabs are all of Caucasion stock. There seem to be greater differences within Galton and Pearson's "races" than between them.

In order to avoid confusion, the word "racist," "racism" and "race" will be used in the modern, albeit inaccurate, sense of color classifications. While this will be used, it should be remembered that Darwin would not have allowed such a thing, because "race" would then have been too difficult to define in evolutionary terms. The point is that Galton and Pearson and their followers did indeed make these "racial," national, and social class distinctions.

Because the procedures developed by Galton and Pearson to prove their eugenic theories were, and to a large extent still are, the only procedures readily available and taught, they are still the primary procedures used today.

The Statistics of Karl Pearson. This belief in difference is even more clearly pointed out by Karl Pearson, a coworker of Galton who, if anything, had a greater influence on modern research and statistics and was far more overt in his racism. The following are direct quotations from the Editorial in the first edition of *Biometrika*, written by Pearson (1901).

> The starting point of Darwin's theory of evolution is precisely the existence of those differences between individual members of a race or species which morphologists for the most part rightly neglect. The first condition necessary, in order that any process of Natural Selection may begin among a race, or species,* is the existence of differences among its members; and the first step in an enquiry into the possible effect of a selective process upon any character of a race** must be an estimate of the frequency with which individuals, exhibiting any given degree of abnormality with respect to that character, occur. The unit, with which such an enquiry must deal, is not an individual but a race,** or a statistically representative sample of a race;** and the result must take the form of a numerical statement, showing the relative frequency with which the various kinds of individuals composing the race** occur . . . Further, *Biometrika* will endeavor to introduce a uniformity of statistical treatment, terminology, and notation, so that results obtained by different investigators on different types of life may be easily and effectively compared. (p. 1)

This paragraph demonstrates Pearson's adherence to Social Darwinism, quantitative-separatist Scientism, and Racism (in both senses) based on *difference*. However, Pearson took Galton's Eugenics even further than Galton himself. Pearson postulated a "breeding farm." Although he never specifically stated that the farm was for the breeding of humans, there is some implication to this end.

> Much has been done and undoubtedly more will be done by the Marine Biological Laboratories for the study of mass-phenomena, but what is urgently needed is the establishment of a well-equipped Biometric Farm Laboratory, where breeding and survival experiments on large numbers could be carried out with ample room and care and, when necessary, for long periods. To this point we hope to return, and we shall not cease to urge its importance. (p. 6)

[1] This author and Dr. Peter L. Besag are developing a series of tests of *statistical similarity*.

(*Pearson here used Darwin's definition of "race" as a species, e.g. human race.)

(**Here Pearson seems to use "race" in the 20th century color classification sense.)

Pearson went so far as to request articles for his new Journal, *Biometrika*, that specifically studied the differences between groups of people and races, with specific interest in showing why and how the race could be improved.

Summary. The primary purpose of this section on Race and Educational Research is to demonstrate that the founders of educational and psychological statistical procedures were racists and that that racism led to the formulation of research techniques that lent themselves to proving the differences between the races (not species). Both Galton and Pearson firmly believed that there were cognitive and intellectual differences particularly between blacks and whites, but also between various national groups. They were not interested in the similarities between the races and nationalities because these similarities would have disproved their racist beliefs. There is no doubt that African chiefs were less verbally and technologically educated than were 19th century Englishmen, as opposed to the 12th or 13th century Englishmen and North Africans, where the North Africans would have held sway. However, there is also little doubt that there were significant similarities in terms of everything from human values to the ability to learn skills appropriate to the specific society. Neither Galton nor Pearson were interested in cross-cultural aspects that would show the similarities between the races and cultures.

From Galton and Pearson we have inherited a research methodology specifically designed to promote separation of groups on the basis of their differences. That methodology is still with us and is still promoting that same separation of children in everything from our grading systems and tracking children into different ability groupings, to the view that blacks in the United States are innately different (inferior) to whites.

Seventy-five years after Galton and Pearson, we are still concerned with differences between groups of children to the almost total exclusion of the similarities between them.

The rest of this chapter will deal with how Galton's and Pearson's procedures gained a foothold in the educational theory and practice of the United States.

Efficiency, Race, and Educational Research

Although the work of Galton and Pearson cannot be exaggerated in the theoretical and academic world, this would not have been sufficient to insure the rise of the specifist-scientist movement in the United States. Often, for an intellectural construct to become a major influence in American society, it must have some practical application, particularly in the profit area. A major influence came to education at this point which both used and increased the effect of Pearson's and Galton's work: The Cult of Efficiency.

The Efficiency Experts

The new construct beginning in the first quarter of this century was the efficiency movement. A social history of this movement and its effect on education is described in Callahan's (1962) book, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency*. As Callahan points out, "In this period as in the decades immediately preceding it, the most powerful force was industrialism — the application of mechanical power to the production of goods — and along with that the economic philosophy of the free enterprise, capitalistic system under which industrialism developed in America" (p. 1). What distinguished industrialism after the beginning of this century from the earlier periods was the cult of efficiency. Although it had always been the role of industrial institutions to get as much "bang for the buck" as possible, this general practice was formalized into "efficiency rating" performed by "efficiency experts." The primary theoretician of this philosophy was Fredrick Taylor.

Taylor's (1911) system included four basic steps to "scientific management." They are:

> First. They develop a science for each element of a man's work, which replaces the old rule-of-thumb method.
>
> Second. They scientifically select and then train, and develop the workman, whereas in the past he chose his own work and trained himself as best he could.
>
> Third. They heartily cooperate with the men so as to insure all of the work being done in accordance with the principles of the science which has been developed.
>
> Fourth. There is an almost equal division of the work and the responsibility between the management and the workmen. The management take over all work for which they are better fitted than the workmen, while in the past almost all of the work and the greater part of the responsibility were thrown on the men. (Taylor, p. 36-37 as quoted in Callahan, p. 27)

Taylor's system, over a very short period of time, was moved into the schools. The ease of this move can be more easily understood when we realize that American schools are far more susceptible to social pressure than schools of other countries because of the peculiar organization of our schools. The United States is the only major country in the Western world that has almost total local control by local school boards. For this reason, when a new construct enters the business community, it very often influences the schools through local school boards which are made up of representatives of the local community.

Schools and education in other countries are less susceptible to this type of pressure because they are run by professionals at the Federal or National level. In brief, what happens in the local community, and particularly in the local business community, very often affects the local schools in the United States far more than in other countries.

Irrelevant Curriculum

The efficiency attack of the schools took basically two forms. First, it stated that the curriculum of the schools was "theoretical, visionary, and impractical:"

> If educators had any doubts by 1910 of what was expected of them, those doubts should have been rsolved at the N.E.A. meeting held in that year. First, the results of a survey which had been conducted by the President of the State Normal School at Peru, Nebraska, were presented to them at one of the general sessions. In an analysis of the responses to a question concerning the greatest weakness in the public high school, the first two answers listed by the surveyor as typical were to the effect that "the work is theoretical, visionary, and impractical."[24] Then secondary teachers and administrators were told by one New York high school principal, "My girls want to study the social amenities that make life more pleasant and enjoyable, they want to know more about algebra, more of present-day Italy than of ancient Rome. They want to get in 1910 something they can use in 1911.[25] (Callahan, 1962, p. 10) (NEA Proceedings, 1905, p. 104, p. 455, respectively)

The statement here was that much of what was taught in the schools was of little value for students outside of school. Such subjects as Latin, Greek, Literature, and so forth, could not be used in the outside work world. It should be recalled that not only the traditionally conservative business interests attacked the school on this basis, and not only the new efficiency experts, but that a great deal of this particular criticism came from the Progressive Education Movement, which also said that large portions of traditional education were irrelevant.

Our Wasteful Schools

The second efficiency argument used against the schools was perhaps the more telling of the two. Here the argument was that certain children were not getting anything out of school and that they were costing the school a great deal of money. Ayers (1909, *Laggards in Our Schools*) was the prime mover in this group of critics. His statement was, "for every child who is making more than normally rapid progress there are from eight to ten children making abnormally slow progress" (p. 3). Ayers, however, did not stop here. Rather than determining methods whereby these children could be helped to improve their education, he pointed out how much money these children were costing the school. He applied the factory model to the schools. He pointed out that there was a certain amount of work which should be done by each student (called piece work in the factory system), and he pointed out that our educational system was inefficient and impractical.

Perhaps the pattern was best stated by Patten (1911) in "An Economic Measure of School Efficiency" when he stated, "The advocate of pure water or clean streets shows by how much the death rate will be altered by each proposed addition to his share of the budget . . . Only the teacher is without such figures. Why should New York spend its money to support inefficient school teachers instead of efficient milk inspectors? Must definite reforms with measurable results give way that an antiquated school system may grind out its useless product?" (p. 467-469)

What is critical here is not only that there was a challenge to the school to prove that was efficient, but more importantly for the purposes of the growth of research, that proof of efficiency must be quantitative and readily seen. The product of the schools could no longer be defined in general terms of "well educated persons" or "good citizens." Rather it would have to be defined in terms of such quantifiable attributes as the number of children who could read and write at a particular level. What occurred in the first quarter of this century was that the efficiency experts wanted the schools to determine what their product was, to measure it, and to make that measurement clearly verifiable to the public.

Summary

Efficiency in education is not a philosophy at all. In point of fact, it has little to do with education per se. Rather it is a manner of measuring educational outcomes. It is directly based on the efficiency movement in industry and indirectly based on the quantitative separatist methodology of Wundt, Galton, and Pearson. Both the "relevancy educators" and the "efficiency educators" thought that they could prove their cases through the use of "education as a science." All of this gave great impetus to the testing and measuring of children in the schools. The avowed purpose of this testing was to individualize instruction on an institutional basis, that is, the purpose was to separate children into various ability groups, deviation groups (behaviorally disturbed, learning disability, etc.), and ethnic and racial groups on the basis of supposed individual differences and inferiorities. This was also the period of the rise of vocational and technical training schools for those children who were not capable of achieving academic excellence. The majority of those children were poor, minority, and ethnic group members. It was thought that it would be more efficient if children could be maintained in homogeneous groupings. This was the beginning of the separation of children into ability groupings. The lower ability groups were consistently made up of new immigrants, minorities and the poor.

Just grouping children for the sake of efficiency was not enough, however. Some scientific base had to be established for the testing and measurement of the children and the new individualized education, that is, institutional individualization or the separation of children by verbal intellectual ability. The most famous exponent of individualization, quantification, and testing in the United States was Edward L. Thorndike. Thorndike was also a believer in Social Darwinism, the methodology of Galton and Pearson, and in racial Eugenics.

Tests, Race, and American Educational Research

Up to this point, we have discussed educational research's historical roots in Great Britain and in the *Efficiency Movement* in the United States. We are now ready to discuss the most direct early influence on educationel research in the United States.

There is one man in the field of educational research who combined a belief in Wundt's experimentalism, Galton and Pearson's statistics and Eugenics, and Taylor's belief that education could be made more efficient. Further, this thinker combined those characteristics into a movement which could quantify educational product so that educational achievement could be accurately and consistantly measured and so that individual differences between children could be determined and that those children could then be separated into ability groupings in order to make the whole enterprise more efficient. That man was Edward L. Thorndike.

Although it is difficult to overemphasize Thorndike's influence on education during his close to half a century at Columbia University, it perhaps should be remembered that his ideas came at a time when there was a confluence of the growing attempt to make education a "scientific discipline" as well as an "efficient enterprise" in the schools themselves. The supposed need on the part of academics to make themselves respectable in the academic community and the supposed need on the part of school practitioners to prove their economic worth, combined to form a need for the type of methodology prescribed by Thorndike.

Another factor should also not be forgotten. During this formulative period in education, this country was even more racist, sexist, and ethnically bigoted than it is now. The theories of individual differences and the quantification of those differences into separatist-specific-measurable quantities fit in with the generally biased society and enhanced the theories of bigotry so common in the early 20th century. This was a further impetus for the acceptance of the statistics of difference.

Be that as it may, Thorndike had perhaps a greater influence on American education than any other early psychologist. He is considered the founder of Educational Psychology, played a major role in the testing and measurement movement within Educational Psychology, and was a major force in the new movement towerd individualization of instruction. Perhaps his most famous contribution was in the area of quantification. His single most remembered phrase is, "If a thing exists, it exists in some amount; and if it exists in some amount, it can be measured."

> In particular, he was interested in the painstakingly precise observations of animal behavior by Charles Darwin, by the methodological controls in the memory studies of Hermann Ebbinghouse, and by the *statistical inventiveness of Sir Francis Galton and Karl Pearson* (Italics added) (Joncich Clifford, 1971, p. 232)[2]

Through this quantification, he was able to perform studies on animal and human subjects which led to his theory of learning and individual differences. Much of his experimentation was done on animals. He felt that animal behavior could be used to give theoretical validation to human learning behaviors:

> A thoroughgoing Darwinist, Thorndike was convinced that, because of evolutionary continuity, the study of animal behavior is instructive to human psychology. Hence, when he had difficulty in securing human subjects, Thorndike switched easily from children to chickens in his Harvard studies. (Joncich Clifford, 1971, p. 233)

From his initial studies of animal behavior (and some studies of human behavior), Thorndike turned to the study of human variability.

Thorndike, as was the case with Galton and Pearson, believed that the basis of intellectual differences and therefore the future of the human race, was genetic; that is, the primary basis for differences between individuals is their heredity. From this basic assumption, Thorndike proceeded to a less extreme form of Galton and Pearson's eugenics:

> Believing that the differences in intellect and achievement are quantitative, rather than qualitative, and related to individual capacities determined by heredity, he considered that improvement of individuals and society might be fostered through eugenics. (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, p. 971)

There is no doubt that, then as now, minority groups, bilingual groups, ethnic groups, women (in some areas such as math) do score lower on paper-pencil standarized tests than do middle-class and upper-class white males. So long as intelligence and other mental and vocational attributes are operationally defined in terms of those tests, those groups will continue to score lower and will continue to be considered inferior.

Thorndike's belief was that neither intelligence nor any other mental attribute was a single variable attribute; that is, intelligence is not one thing, rather it is "constituted of millions of discrete stimulus-response bonds; any intelligence test is simply a selective sample-taking of all the possible learned connections that might be present." (Joncich Clifford, 1971, p. 235).

Thorndike believed, as did Galton, that academic verbal intelligence was the most significant of these mental attributes. It was one of the main purposes of Thorndike's professional life to measure the most significant of those "selective samples." To this end, Thorndike developed, or helped to develop, a whole series of group intelligence and vocational preference tests. Thorndike was heavily involved in the development of the Army Beta Intelligence Test for Illiterates (the Army Alpha was for literates) which resulted in the testing and placement of some two million American Army recruits during the First World War.

Thorndike's primary interests were in the application of those tests in the field of education and schooling. He believed that most of our schooling was ineffective and inefficient because it was based on professional folklore rather than empirical and experimental findings. He felt that if education was to become a profession, then it had to be based on the research findings related to the product of education. His major emphasis then was to measure through quantification, the individual outputs of the educational endeavor:

> In his *Educational Psychology*, Thorndike wrote: "We conquer the facts of nature when we observe and experiment upon them. When we measure them we have made them our servants' (1903, p. 164). Equally as important as empiricism to Thorndike's psychology was his emphasis on measurement and quantification: poorly prepared by the schools in mathematics and largely self-taught in statistics, Thorndike became the educational world's major exponent of the use of science's universal language of description, numbers. His theme was, all that exists, exists in some amount and can be measured. He introduced the first university course in educational measurement in 1902, and researchers in the use of social statistics, *An Introduction to the Theory of Mental and Social Measurements*. (Joncich Clifford, 1971, p. 235)

From his measurements of intelligence and vocational aptitudes, Thorndike determined that there were striking individual differences

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[2] The *Encyclopedia of Education* article by Joncich is used here so the reader can find a brief summary of Thorndike's work. For a more complete bibliography, see Joncich Clifford (1968).

between school pupils. In order to determine the cause of these differences, Thorndike commenced the study of siblings, twins, and unrelated individuals. It was his hypothesis that individual differences were hereditary and not learned:

> Of these sources of variation, the most important in Thorndike's view was differing capacities — differences caused primarily by genetic inequalities. To the persisting debate about heredity and environment, Thorndike offered comparative studies of twins, siblings, and unrelated individuals, of family histories, and of school eliminations (what we call dropouts). His findings convinced him that heredity is the primary determinant of intellectual difference and, because such other traits as personal morality, civic responsibility, industriousness, and mental health correlate positively with intelligence, that genetic endowment is the critical variable for welfare and social progress. So, in the interest of improving the human gene pool, he espoused eugenics. (Joncich Clifford, 1971, p. 236)

Throughout Thorndike's work, he came to believe that most of the variability between school pupils was based on heredity and that there was little that could be done to improve the academic abilities of the lower "I.Q." students. For this reason, Thorndike proposed two basic themes: First, children should be separated on the basis of academic ability into what we now call tracks or streams. Up to that point, most education had been carried on in heterogeneous groupings of students with one teacher dealing with both the bright and the dull students in a single class. Thorndike proposed the homogeneous grouping of students on the basis of their academic ability. This would make teaching more efficient because those students who were not capable of learning at the standard rate could be grouped into special classes where they would not hold up the rest of the students. Second, Thorndike was a major proponent of vocational education. It should not be assumed that vocational education was for all of the students. Rather it was reserved for those students who did not have the ability to perform academically. The purpose was to train nonacademic students so that they would be able to make a living in modern American society even though they were not very bright. Again, both eugenics and efficiency dictated the proposal.

These two proposals are still with us today. Children are still streamed or tracked according to academic ability and we are still prone to view vocational education as an ancillary activity that is largely in the domain of education for the less academically gifted.

Summary. Thorndike was the educational theorist who had the greatest influence on the present day application of "scientific separatist" quantification of education. He combined the scientism of Wundt, the statistics and eugenics of Galton and Pearson, and the desire for efficiency of Taylor and the business community. In order to make this combination work, he developed tests and measurements that could differentiate between pupils and thereby segregate them both academically and vocationally. The result has been that very separation of children into academic and vocational groups which is still with us today in a far more detailed and sophisticated way. We now not only segregate pupils according to their general academic abilities, but have broken down the classifications into such categories as "remedial, educable mentally retarded, trainable mentally retarded, learning disabilities, behavioral and emotional disorders, physical handicaps," and so forth. The list seems almost endless. It should be remembered that the process of separation was given its greatest impetus by Thorndike. He wanted children to be individualized not within a classroom (individual education), but rather separated institutionally, namely, that they should be kept in separate classes and in some cases in separate schools (e.g., vocational schools).

Conclusion

This has been a protagonistic paper. It presents a point of view. Not that there is any new information in the paper, for there is not. It is generally known that Galton and Pearson were open and avowed racists, and it is generally known that the efficiency movement had a great influence on education in the early part of this century, and it is generally known that Thorndike was a believer in eugenics. All of the aforementioned believed in Social Darwinism and that the fittest should be both socially, academically and hereditarily segregated to improve the nation and the race as a whole.

This paper, however, is not historical. That is, it is not just to review the history of modern educational research. Rather it is to point out the effect of that research on educational practice and policy. For we are in many ways at a turning point in American society. As Gunnar Myrdal pointed out in *The American Dilemma*, if the United States does not solve its problem of racism in this century, there may be no United States in the next. Although we have made strides towards eliminating some of the racism, sexism, and ethnic bigotries during the latter half of this century, it is the contention of this paper that educational theory and practice has actually hindered that process through its separation of pupils on the basis of institutional individualization.

When individualization takes place within a classroom, it means that the specific teachers individualize the learning for specific students. This is most likely good. But, when the individualization is institutional, it means that children are separated on the basis of any one of a number of "individual differences." These individual differences are often based on standardized tests which are specifically designed to separate children. For example, because we have been taught to believe that children are more different than they are alike, we separate them into ability groupings, academic tracks, remediation, learning disabilities, and so forth. Further, we categorize children in terms of their abilities within the groups by giving them grades, often based on grading curves which is in turn based on the normal distribution curve (a statistical concept used as a base for measuring statistical difference), standardized tests, and so forth. Once they are grouped, children are no longer individuals, but are part of an institutional separation. This Thorndike called "individualization." The basic thesis of this paper is that this institutional individualization is based in large part on the research that we in education do, and that that research was originally, in any case, developed to enhance racist beliefs.

This is not to imply that researchers are racists, for certainly most are not. However, most researchers have not investigated research as a philosophical activity, which it most certainly is. Basic philosophical and ethical questions are implied in research. We researchers rarely question these philosophical assumptions. Should we look for differences or similarities or both? What are the implications of looking for differences or for similarities? Should we measure for intellectual verbal abilities primarily or should the other cognitive abilities be brought to the fore? Would testing for similarities and for nonverbal cognitive abilities change the racial, ethnic, and national groupings of children so that minorities, foreign language pupils, would not be overrepresented in the lower ability groupings? The questions are both philosophical and significant and must be addressed by researchers.

What then are the philosophical and significant issues raised by this protagonistic history of modern research?

First and foremost, we test for differences among children and not for similarities. All of our statistical procedures test for significant difference, not for significant similarities. This is clearly based on the racism of the founders of statistical theory and procedures. They were interested invidiously in the differences between the races and the nationalities and went so far as to establish a journal which had as its primary purpose the discussion and scientific verification of those differences.

Second, the original founders of educational research firmly believed that the one characteristic which distinguished humankind's survival was intelligence. This, according to the early researchers, not only distinguished us from the animals and made us superior to them, but also distinguished us from each other and made some of us superior to others. Further, these differences are based on heredity and not on environment. What are the implications of these assumptions (some of which are patently false)?

Third, as part of the construct of Social Darwinism, those who are in positions of power are there because they are the brightest and the best and they should be given the greatest educational and societal advantages. Those who are at the bottom of the power ladder are there because they do not have the survival characteristics and they are where they belong. As a correllary, in order for the race to improve and survive, people should breed according to their intellectual gifts with some people breeding more and some breeding less or not at all.

We have, then, a system in education which often looks for only one human characteristic, namely, measurable intelligence, combined with a research methodology that looks only for differences, and an underlying philosophy that believes that that difference and that methodology will lead to the betterment of the human race, or, at least, the educational enterprise.

This research methodology is still the primary focus in education, albeit the researchers are not aware of the racist origins of it. The implications for education have been, and still are, immense.

What are the results for education? First, the most significant result has been institutional individualization of education. The individualization of Thorndike based on the work of Galton and Pearson separated children into groups based on test scores. This did not individualize education, rather, it institutionally separated children into achievement level groups.

Second, most grouping is based on verbal learning differences. Minority groups and the poor are heavily overrepresented in the lower achievement groups. This has led to one of three conclusions: that poor people and minorities are not as bright as rich people and whites; that poor people and minorities do not do as well on standarized tests because of language problems (Spanish speaking and black dialect speaking) and a lack of the advantages of an academic atmosphere of richer people (travel, books, college-educated parents, etc.); or that we are only measuring one cognitive faculty and that that faculty lends itself to the measurement of supposed differences.

Third, we measured verbal intelligence, which in reality is a measure of nothing more than verbal school achievement. There is little doubt that white middle- and upper-class suburban children measure higher on that particular cognitive faculty than do minority, urban, foreign language-speaking children. We will find differences and we will continue to segregate children on the basis of those differences. However, what would happen if we measured creativity instead of verbal intelligence? Would the minority child still score lower, or would we find that there was similarity between minority and majority children? What if we measured mechanical ability? Would there be similarity? Or ability to get along with and understand others? Or artistic or musical talent? The list is endless and largely uninvestigated. If you think that it is too difficult to measure creativity or talent, think for one minute of the construct of intelligence and understand clearly that creativity or talent is no more difficult of a construct than intelligence. It is not possible to measure all of intelligence, but it is possible to measure some of the cognitive abilities such as verbal ability. The same is true of creativity and talent. They can not be measured fully, but they can be measured partially as Guilford and others have shown.

Fourth and most important for this chapter, from the standpoint of the researcher, measuring cognitive abilities such as creativity and talent are, at present, of little interest to researchers because the articles would not get published. Researchers could not find statistically significant differences between groups of people in those abilities and one of the criteria for acceptance to a journal is finding statistically significant differences. At the present time, we as researchers are locked into measuring statistically significant differences and there are no available statistical tests for statistical similarities.

When tests of statistical similarity are developed, it is entirely possible that we will find that children of all types have more similarities than they do differences. They might, for example, point out that tracking children into ability groups is an invalid construct from any other viewpoint than a verbal intelligence. Creativity, talent, and the ability to get along with others may show greater similarity than difference. If that is the case, then perhaps children should no longer be grouped simply on one cognitive ability, but should be grouped on the basis of many characteristics or not grouped at all. Children might no longer be grouped and would be able to interact with, and learn to appreciate, both similarities and differences in their peers. Further, grading on only verbal and quantitative abilities might have to be replaced either by a system that would look at the whole child or by no grading at all.

The ramifications can not be fully outlined in this chapter not because of a limitation of space, but because we have no data. We have no idea what the ramifications of testing for similarities would be. No one has ever systematically tested for similarities because the statistical procedures have not been available. We have never done it and so we do not know what the similarities between children are. Unfortunately, we do know what the differences are, and we should look very closely at what we base those differences and grouping of children on.

It is high time that research researches itself, finds its roots and its values, and determines if those are indeed the roots and values it cherishes. This paper is a first step in that direction for this researcher.

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PART IV
Concepts of Childhood

"Real Children" in Ancient Greek and Roman Art

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According to a conventional wisdom of the present day, the idea of childhood did not exist until modern times. In a recent article, for example, Marie Winn writes, "As the historian Phillippe Ariès has pointed out in his influential study "Centuries of Childhood," the very notion of innocent childhood as a separate phase of life did not exist until well after the end of the Middle Ages."[1] It is true that Ariès discusses the origins of the idea of childhood since the Middle Ages. Yet this is not to deny the possibility that the idea of childhood existed in earlier centuries. In fact, Ariès himself refers to the realistic representation of childhood in Hellenistic art:

> Everything in fact would seem to suggest that the realistic representation of children or the idealization of childhood, its grace and rounded charms, was confined to Greek art. Little Eroses proliferated in the Hellenistic period, but childhood disappeared from iconography together with other Hellenistic themes.[2]

He goes on to say that later, art "returned to that rejection of the special features of childhood which had already characterized the periods of antiquity before Hellenism."[3] The aims of the present essay are, first, to illustrate what Ariès calls the "rejection of the special features of childhood" in Greek art; and, second, to illustrate realistic portrayals of children in Greek and Roman art.

The most numerous examples of what Ariès calls the "rejection of the special features of childhood" found in Greek art are the portrayals of children in vase paintings. They are found, for the most part, on vases known as choes (or oinochoes), which were given to children on the occasion of the festival of Anthesteria. Gerard van Hoorn devotes an entire work to this subject in *Choes and Anthesteria*,[4] in which there are illustrations of 200 choes-paintings of infants and young children. Most of them are dated in the late fifth and early fourth centuries, which places them in what is called the Classical Period in Ancient Greek Art, 475-330 B.C.

Here we show two choes which portray characteristic representations of small children in vase paintings. In Figure 1, dated about 420 B.C., two boys are boxing.[5] In Figure 2, dated in the second half of the fifth century, children are playing in a Dionysian procession.[6] The representations of the children on these vases are similar to hundreds of others that have survived from the Classical period. On a lekythos in Figure 3, also from the fifth century B.C., a boy with similar facial features pulls his toy cart and beckons to his mother as he goes to board Charon's boat.[7]

Anita Klein, in her study, *Child Life in Greek Art*, refers to the "obvious carelessness of execution in the case of nearly all the small vases. While the general effect is extremely lifelike, details are found to be blurred and uncertain, or are omitted altogether."[8] Even so, something in addition to the "carelessness of execution" catches the attention of those who are interested in conceptions of childhood — the unchildlike bodies and the adult-like facial features of the children. In taking notice of this, we may well recall a chapter sub-heading in H.I. Marrou's *History of Education in Antiquity* — "man not child the standard." As Marrou puts it, "The whole aim of this education was the formation of adults, not the development of the child."[9] The paintings in Figures 1-3 well illustrate the attitude toward childhood which Marrou had in mind, as well as what Ariès calls the "rejection of the special features of childhood." The children's facial features suggest that the nature of adults was very much in the painters' minds. They put us in mind of what Rousseau wrote twenty-one centuries later, in the preface of his *Emile*: "They are always seeking the man in the child without thinking of what he is before being a man."

Yet we must restrain ourselves from the temptation to accept the idea that all vase painters had "man not child" in mind, for there are some examples of vase paintings which show children's features that are different from the characteristic ones exemplified in Figures 1-3. Two of these are shown in Figure 4[10] and 5.[11] They depart from the stock portrayals in the apparent attempt to capture certain details of the children's facial features. As a result, the children look less like small adult-featured people than do the children in typical vase paintings. They appear to be efforts to capture something of the special features of childhood.

The names of the painters of Figures 4 and 5 are unknown. But we do have a well-known exception to the practice of representing children as small grown-ups. It is by the artist known as the Brygos Painter, one of the great Athenian vase painters of the late Archaic Period, 535-475 B.C. His "real child" stands under one handle of a skyphos in Figure 6.[12] J.D. Beazley calls this boy "one of the first, one of the only, real children in vase-painting."[13] In contrast to the adult-featured children in Figures 1-3, this buck-toothed lad does appear to be a real child. This vase is dated in the period 490-480 B.C. Alexander Cambitoglu, in his work, *The Brygos Painter*, says that the boy in Figure 6 is an exception to the rule that "children in archaic vase-painting are usually represented as little grown-ups."[14] The faces of Brygos' figures are known for their "pronounced features" and "piquant quality."[15] John Boardman also refers to the boy in Figure 6 after saying of the Brygos Painter, "Of all archaic artists he demonstrated best the new command of pose based on observation and quite independent of the stock repertory of figures in action or quiet."[16] Further, the Brygos Painter is said to be at his most characteristic in scenes "where he could exercise his command of portrayal of the everyday gesture or situation."[17] The point made here is that the Brygos Painter (along with the painters of the choes in Figures 4 and 5) was a careful observer of human beings and tried to capture something of children's likenesses in his paintings.

The work of the Brygos Painter, together with that of the choes-painters in Figures 4 and 5, constitutes only a small fraction of the total number of children on vase-paintings. Indeed, their paintings are so unusual et they stand out in the midst of the others. They do stand out, however, for their ability to make explicit an awareness of childhood that is striking for its departure from conventional expressions of the nature of children.

When we move on from the Classical to the Hellenistic Period (330-30 B.C.) in Greek art, we find many examples of sculpture in which attention to the special features of childhood is apparent. The changes in Greek sculpture in the Hellenistic Period are described as follows by G.M.A. Richter:

> The most important was an increased realism — in movement, in modelling, in expression, and in the range of subjects treated. . . . Instead of the quiet stances of former times contortions were favored. . . . Old age, childhood, deformity, racial differences, strong emotion were now studied with new insight.[18]

Two statues, each of a boy bending over to take a thorn from his foot, serve to contrast the idealized head of Classical sculpture with a more naturalistic head. The first, a bronze, known as the Spinario (Figure 7),[19] has a head described by Martin Robertson as follows: "Of early classical type with strong archaic reminiscences in the formally treated neck-length hair, which does not hang over the face as nature would have it in the bent posture."[20] The second, a marble (Figure 8),[21] is called by Robertson a "rough little boy."[22] His concentration is given expression in the composition of face, arms, and body tension, in contrast to the Spinario, whose face is a study in Classical idealism.

In the sculpture of the Hellenistic period, "real children" are more common than they are in Archaic and Classical vase painting and sculpture. We no longer have to say — as we did of the Brygos Painter and the choes-painters in Figures 4 and 5 — that their work was the result of an uncommon attention to human expression and an unusual ability to depart from the stock-in-trade which was the conventional art of their day. A story comes down to us from Pliny about Lysippus of Sicyon, who became famous as the sculptor of Alexander. According to Pliny, Lysippus was inspired by "the reply given by the painter Eupompus when asked which of his predecessors he took for his model; he pointed to a crowd of people and said that it was Nature herself, not an artist, whom one ought to imitate."[23] Lysistratus, the brother of Lysippus, is given credit for being the first to model likenesses of human beings from the living face. "Indeed," Pliny writes, "he introduced the practice of *giving likenesses*, the object aimed at previously having been to make as handsome a face as possible."[24] The practice of "giving likenesses" was not confined to adults, but was followed also in the sculptures of children; whether or not likenesses were modelled from actual faces, it is clear that likenesses were "given" to the children who have come down to us in stone and metal. In them we see the outcomes of attempts to portray "real children" rather than little grown-ups.

The interest in real children — in their likenesses — is apparent in the examples of Hellenistic sculpture shown here. The boys with their roosters (Figure 9)[25] are clearly "real children," as are the standing boy holding a duck in Figure 10,[26] the boy struggling with a goose in Figure 11,[27] and the self-conscious child with its finger at its mouth, Figure 12.[28] According to Richter, the finger brought to the mouth was a familiar motive in Hellenistic and Roman art, "an emblem of childhood symbolizing the young sun born anew every morning."[29]

One of the most striking portrayals of an actual boy is the jockey in Figure 13.[30] An almost unbearable concentration of physical activity shows itself in the tension expressed by his facial features and body. What Robertson says of him is worth quoting: "The child is thin and scruffy with knobby body and a boy's face. His hair is rough, and his coarse tunic, fastened on one shoulder, ragged."[31] In his judgment, "There is here a more direct and detailed transcript of observed nature, and a more vivid impression of life in action, than in any other work of major art that has come down to us from ancient Greece."[32] From the standpoint of our interest in the ways in which children are portrayed, the boy-jockey is neither "idealized" after the Classical fashion nor is he a little person with adult-like features. The intensity of involvement with his unseen steed is captured in every feature; something akin to an agony of physical and emotional concentration has been captured, and the result is a boy almost too real for one of Classical taste.

Yet it would be misleading to suppose that the realism in Hellenistic portrayals of children was without its ideal. The figure of Eros in bronze in Figure 14 combines a realistic representation of life with the tendency, so striking in Classical art, to effect a purity of expression that represents an ideal in human existence.[33] Richter writes of this Eros:

> The artist has tried to represent the complete relaxation of a sleeping child, and he has admirably succeeded. The soft little body, the chubby legs, the drooping arm, the face with its closed eyes and parted lips, and above all the easy attitude convey the abandon of sleep. We almost hear the child breathing, so life-like is the rendering.[34]

Yet in another passage on the bronze Eros, Richter states well how a certain joining of Hellenistic realism with Classical idealism had its ideal:

> The figure in fact well illustrates the new ideals which obtained in Greek art after the death of Alexander the Great. The long struggle for an understanding of the human body, which had occupied Greek artists for several centuries, was definitely over. They could now model the human figure correctly in every attitude they wished. Their scope was enlarged, but inevitably they turned more and more to its realistic representation. In the place of the majestic figures of former times they produced themes from the life immediately around them. Nevertheless, even these later creations were not direct copies from life. In our Eros, for instance, the individual shapes of the limbs and body form an organic, well-proportioned composition; the feathers of the wings going in different directions and the locks of hair with the little top-knot make a studied design. The stylizing and simplifying tendencies of early Greek art . . . were still potent.[35]

Here we are reminded of the idea of "giving likenesses." Yet we are able to see also that while Hellenistic sculptors found beauty in the conditions of real life, they did not try simply to copy real life. To give likenesses to human beings is not simply to take them as they are, to "copy" them. The artist does the giving, whatever the subject's nature that is taken into account. The likeness which the artist "gives" takes its shape according to an ideal — what is taken to be the true nature of the child.

Yet we must not forget that, while the practice of giving likenesses did not become common until the Hellenistic Period, the attempt to do so is evident as far back as the fifth century. As we have seen, the Brygos painter and the choes-painters of Figures 4 and 5 departed from the prevailing style of painting children as little grown-ups by portraying them with certain on the special features of childhood.

The interest in giving likenesses continued in the work of Roman sculptors, who produced many examples of busts of children. One student of Greek and Roman sculpture makes the claim that some Roman busts of children "are carved with a skill and understanding which surpass even the Hellenistic sculptors' successful essays in this sort of work."[36] In any case, one example is the exquisite marble head of a boy (Figure 15) from the first century A.D.[37] His child-like expression is captured along with a somewhat formal and stylized attitude. The children in a Dionysian procession in the fragment of a sarcophagus (Figure

16), from the second half of the second century A.D., appear to have halted their ceremony for a moment of deliberate posing.[38] In the attitude which the sculptor has given them, one sees a child-like innocence.

At times the realism in Hellenistic likenesses of children almost overcomes the effort to simplify, stylize, and represent a human ideal. Yet even in the "more realistic" instances of giving likenesses — as the boy-jockey, and the rough marble boy picking a thorn from his foot — we see something fine and beautiful in human existence. The beauty is different from that of the earlier idea — "man not child," or "little grown-ups." It is a beauty that is in the child before he becomes a man; it is a prizing of childhood's special features. This means that childhood, in itself, is worthy of art. We must venture the suggestion that the Hellenistic and Roman sculptors perceived a way of existence in children which most Classical vase painters either did not recognize or would not acknowledge. In the realism of the sculptors a certain integrity in childhood was captured, a way of existing whose meaning is in itself and does not require an ideal of adulthood for its realization.

The question naturally arises: In what sense might a study of iconography enable us to understand what the Ancient Greeks and Romans thought about childhood? As Ayers Bagley has pointed out in his study of early modern child portraiture, "Witnesses disagree on whether certain child portraits or even whole schools of child portraiture represent children truly."[39] He goes on to provide examples of sharp divisions of opinion as to whether certain child portraits are "childlike" or are "miniature adults."[40] No doubt various witnesses will disagree with some of the characterizations presented in the present essay. Even so, we believe that the idea offered here — that, for the most part, typical choes-paintings portray children as adultlike, while certain examples of Hellenistic and Roman sculpture portray children as more nearly childlike — has a certain credibility. For one thing, we simply hold that the visual impression of adult-like facial features and unchildlike bodies that comes to one who looks at two hundred choes-paintings of small children (see exemplified here in Figures 1 and 2) is striking; and the ways in which certain Hellenistic sculptors captured something of "the special features of childhood" is equally striking. For another thing, the various witnesses from the literature on Greek and Roman art cited here tend to support our idea.

From the standpoint of the possible significance which the ability to portray "real children" might have had for eduction in antiquity, we can make no case which denies Marrou's claim that throughout antiquity, "man not child" was the standard. The prevailing attitude toward childhood was put in this way by Marrou: "The Ancients . . . were not interested in the child as such, being interested only in the ultimate ends of education."[41] Our claim is only a modest one: that, despite the prevailing attitude toward childhood, there was an interest in children in Antiquity of a different sort, which reveals itself in the ability of artists to portray children in a realistic way. It reveals itself in another way also: In Plato's *Republic* and *Laws*, Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics*, Quintilian's *Institutes*, and "A Dialogue on Oratory" by Tacitus, considerable attention is given to the moral upbringing of children.[42] In these writings, children — while not seen as "standards" for adults — are taken to be worth considering in their own right. Thus there is a small but significant literature in Greek and Roman antiquity which stands alongside the iconographic evidence to show us that children were worthy of literature and of art. And in the *Paedagogus* of Clement of Alexandria, the idea is set forth that the innocence of childhood is a way of being that grown-ups must attain if they are to become wise.[43] While this is a Christian ideal, upon reading it our minds turn naturally to the images of innocence captured in the Hellenistic sculptures of children — representations of childhood in whose midst Christians came to write of childhood innocence.

Notes

[1] Marie Winn, "What Became of Childhood Innocence?", *The New York Times Magazine*, January 25, 1981, p. 16.

[2] Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, tr. by Robert Baldick (New York: Random House, 1962), p. 34.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Gerard van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1951).

[5] Frederick A.G. Beck, *Album of Greek Education: The Greeks at School and at Play* (Sydney: Cheiron Press, 1975), Figure 205. *Choes and Anthesteria*, Figure 132.

[6] *Choes and Anthesteria*, List of Collections, no. 757, p. 159.

[7] *Album of Greek Education*, Figure 277.

[8] Anita Klein, *Child Life in Greek Art* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), Introduction, p. xviii.

[9] H.I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, tr. by George Lamb (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956), p. 218.

[10] *Album of Greek Education*, Figure 300. *Choes and Anthesteria*, Figure 363.

[11] *Choes and Anthesteria*, Figure 508.

[12] L.D. Caskey, "Brygos as a Painter of Athletic Scenes," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 19:129-36, Plates VII-IX, 1915.

[13] *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), p. 90.

[14] Alexander Cambitoglou, *The Brygos Painter* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1968), pp. 13-14.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[16] John Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), p. 135.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

[18] "Greek Sculpture," *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Rev. Ed. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 967.

[19] Rhys Carpenter, "Lo Spinario," *Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome*, XVIII:35-41, Plates 15, 16D.

[20] Martin Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975), Vol. I, p. 559.

[21] Margarete Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, Rev. Ed. (New York: Columbia U. Press, 1961), Figure 550.

[22] *A History of Greek Art*, p. 559.

[23] *Natural History*, tr. H. Rackham, in the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1968), Vol. IX, XXXIV, 61-62.

[24] *Ibid.*, XXXV, 153.

[25] *Child Life in Greek Art*, Plate XXIII C.

[26] Hedwig Kenner, *Weinen und Lachen in Der Griechischen Kunst* (Wien: In Kommission Bei Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1960), Figure 21.

[27] *Album of Greek Education*, Figure 296. *Child Life in Greek Art*, Plate XD. J.D. Beazley and Bernard Ashmole, *Greek Sculpture and Painting to the End of the Hellenistic Period* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932), Figure 181.

[28] *Weinen und Lachen in Der Griechischen Kunst*, Figure 23.

[29] "Classical Accessions," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XVI:34, February, 1921.

[30] Robertson, *A History of Greek Art*, Figure 177c.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 559.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] G.M.A. Richter, "A Bronze Eros," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, II:118-25, November, 1943. Richter, *Handbook of the Greek Collection* (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1953), Plate 102.

[34] *Handbook of the Greek Collection*, pp. 123-24.

[35] "A Bronze Eros," p. 118.

[36] George H. Chase, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in American Collections* (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1924), pp. 180-81.

[37] Frances Follin Jones, *Ancient Art in the Art Museum, Princeton University* (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1960), p. 60.

[38] Erika Simon, "Dionysischer Sarkophag in Princeton," *Romischer Mitteilungen*, 69: 142, no. 23, 1962.

[39] Ayers Bagley, " 'Miniature Adults' or Portraits of an Educational Ideal?," *Educational Studies*, 9:369, Winter, 1979.

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 369-372.

[41] *History of Education in Antiquity*, p. 102. Stanley F. Bonner, in *Education in Ancient Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), p. 329, corroborates Marrou's claim: "The Romans were not so much concerned to give children what they liked to do as what they knew to be essential for their adult life." Pierre Riché agrees, in *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West*, tr. by John J. Contreni (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1976), p. 10: "Romans, like Greeks, were not interested in the child or even in the adolescent. The goal of education *(humanitas)* was to form the adult 'man' and not to preoccupy itself with the development of youth."

[42] Plato's conception of childhood is discussed in J.J. Chambliss, "Human Development in Plato and Rousseau: 'Training from Childhood in Goodness,'" *The Journal of Educational Thought*, XIII: 96-108, August, 1979; and see "Aristotle's Conception of Childhood and the Poliscraft," *Educational Studies*, XIII: 33-43, Spring, 1982.

[43] Clement's conception of childhood is discussed in J.J. Chambliss, "Two Christian Ideas of Childhood: Clement of Alexander and Augustine," *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society*, X: 78-93, 1982.

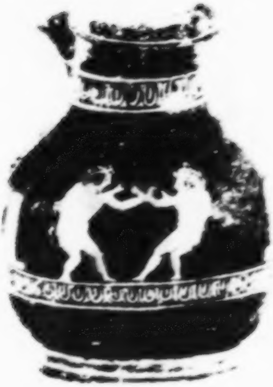

Figure 1. Oinochoe. Attic. Red Figured. Two boys boxing. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 95.53. Catherine Page Perkins Fund.

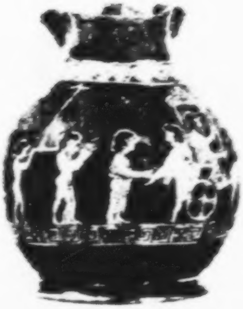

Figure 2. Red Figured Toy Oinochoe. Children in Dionysian Procession. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 24.97.34. Fletcher Fund, 1924.

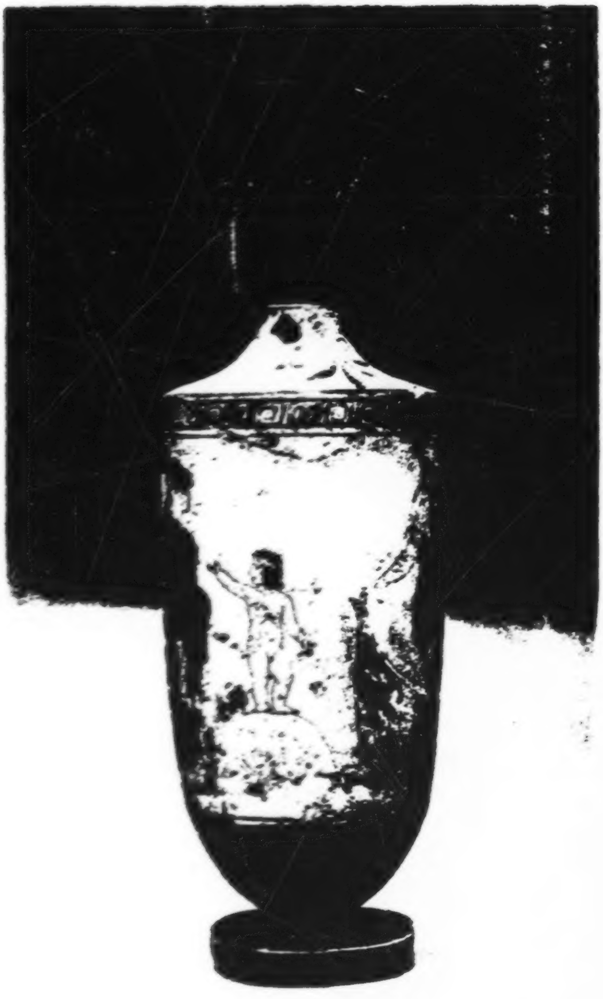

Figure 3. White Lekythos. Child leading its mother to Charon's boat. New York. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 09.221.44. Rogers Fund, 1909.

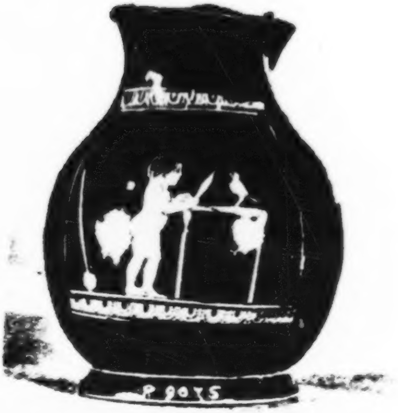

Figure 4. Oinochoe. Attic. Red Figured. Boy shows streptos-cake to pet bird. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 01.8086. H.L. Pierce Fund.

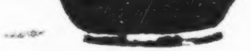

Figure 5. Oinochoe. Attic. Red Figured. Boy leaning on low base or mound. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 01.8087. H.L. Pierce Fund.

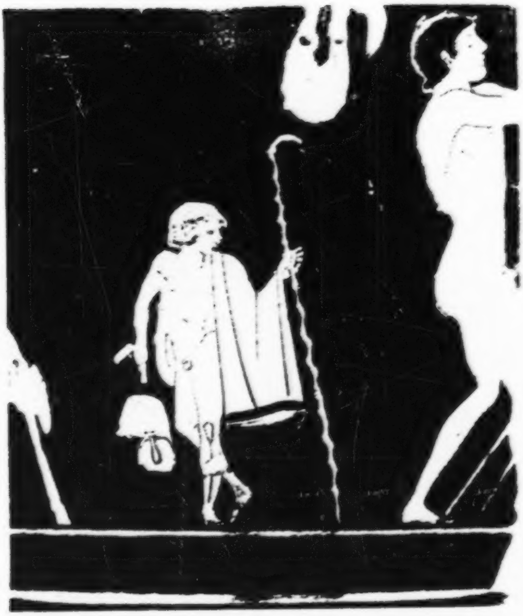

Figure 6. Skyphos. By Brygos, unsigned. Detail of boy with staff. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 10.176. James Fund and Special Contribution.

Figure 7. Bronze. Boy removing thorn from foot. Rome, Museo Capitolio.

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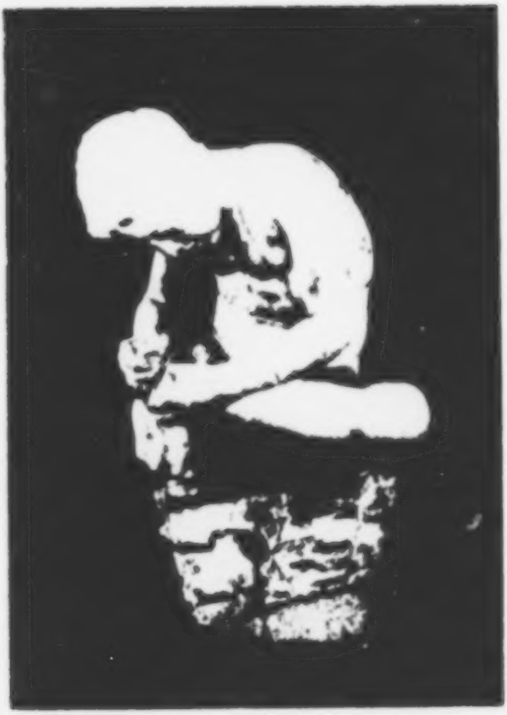

Figure 8. Marble. Boy removing thorn from foot. London, British Museum, 1755.

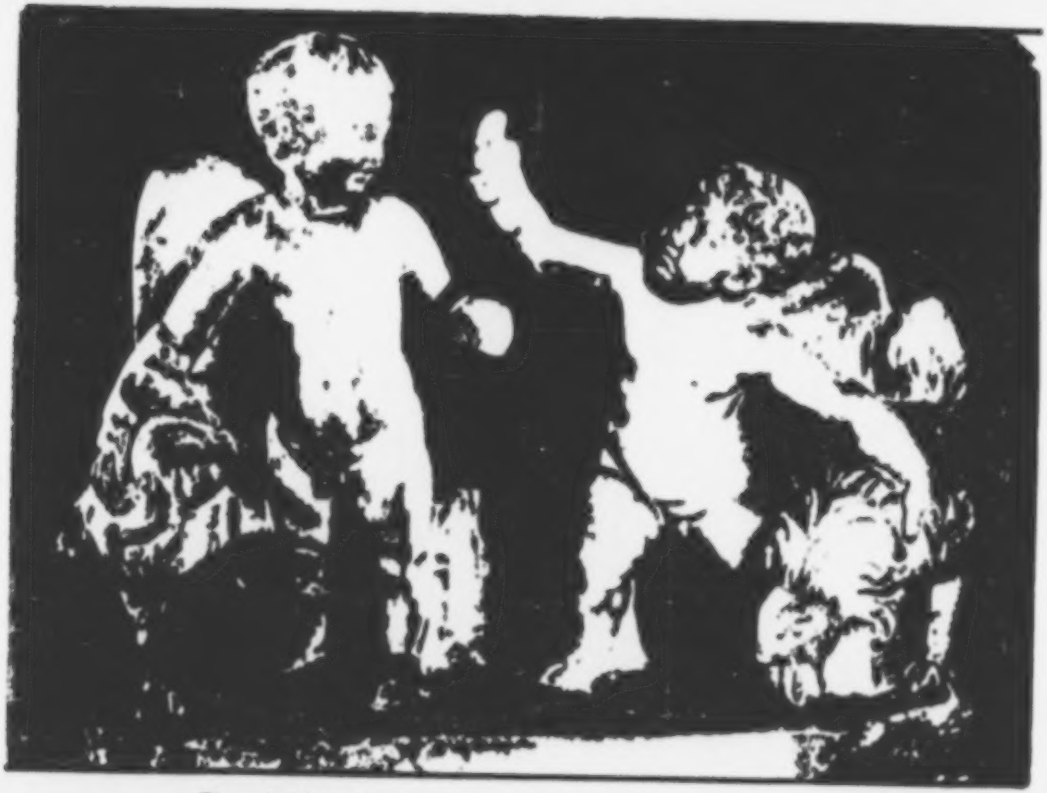

Figure 9. Marble. Two boys with roosters. Istanbul. Museum of Antiquities, 554.

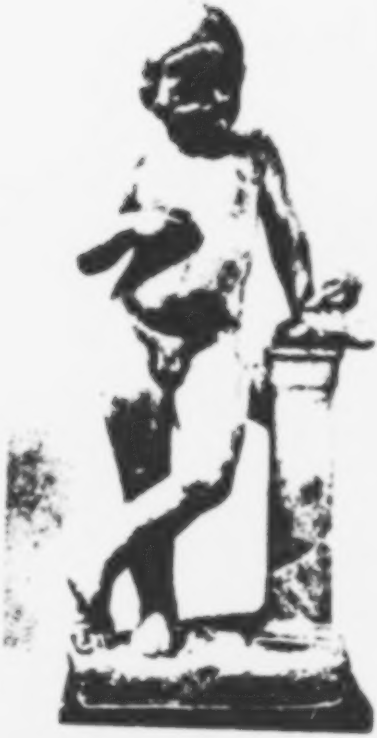

Figure 10. Marble. Standing boy with a duck. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 2772.

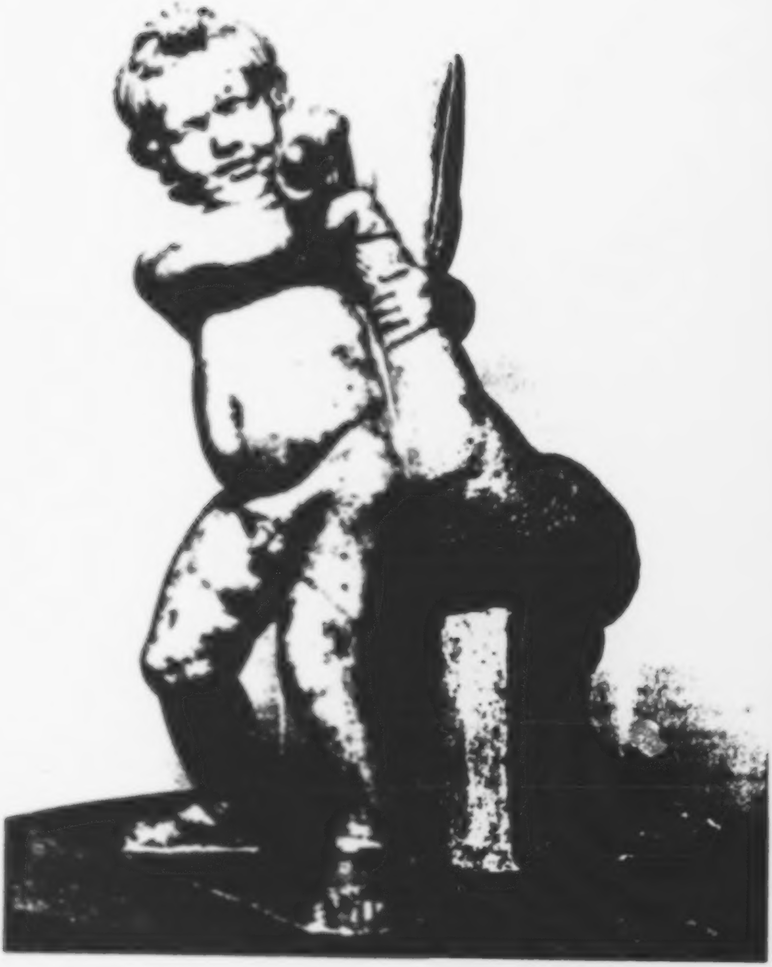

Figure 11. Marble. Boy struggling with a goose. Munich, Glyptothek, 268.

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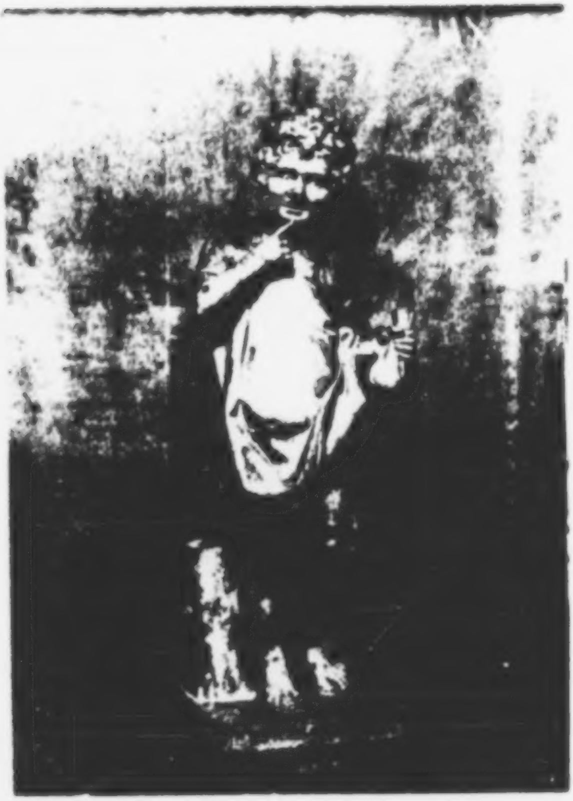

Figure 12. Marble. Child with finger at its mouth. Rome, Vatican Museum 2678.

183

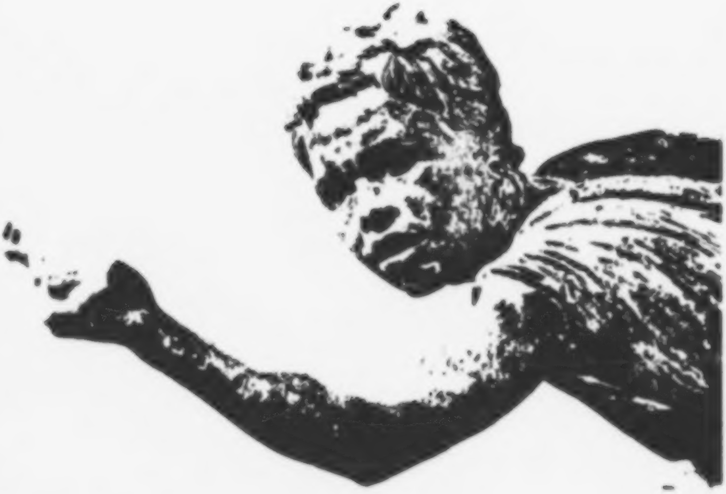

Figure 13. Bronze. Boy jockey. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 15177.

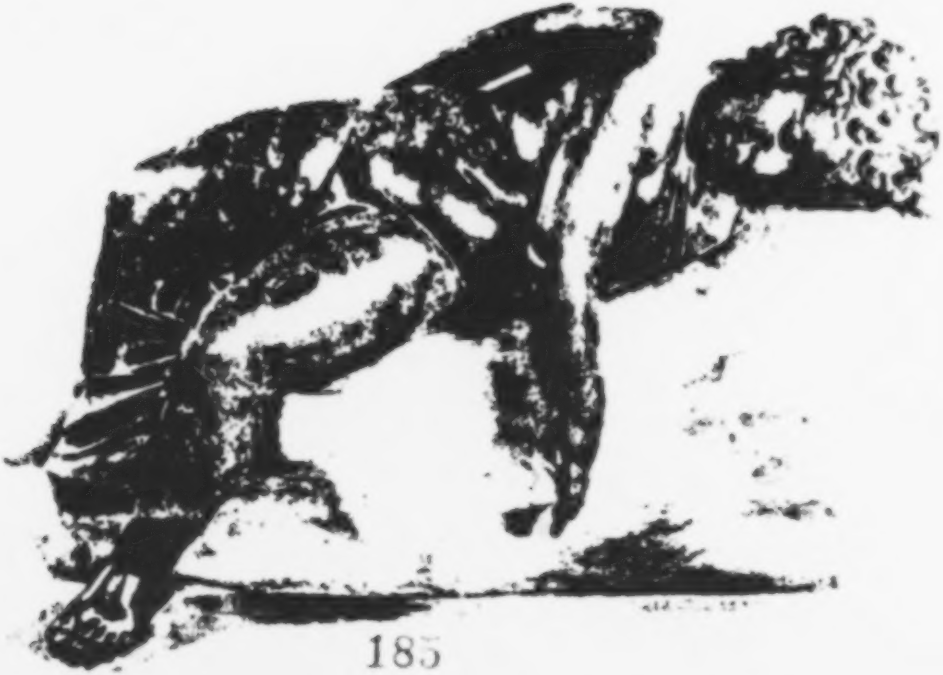

Figure 14. Bronze. Eros sleeping. New York. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

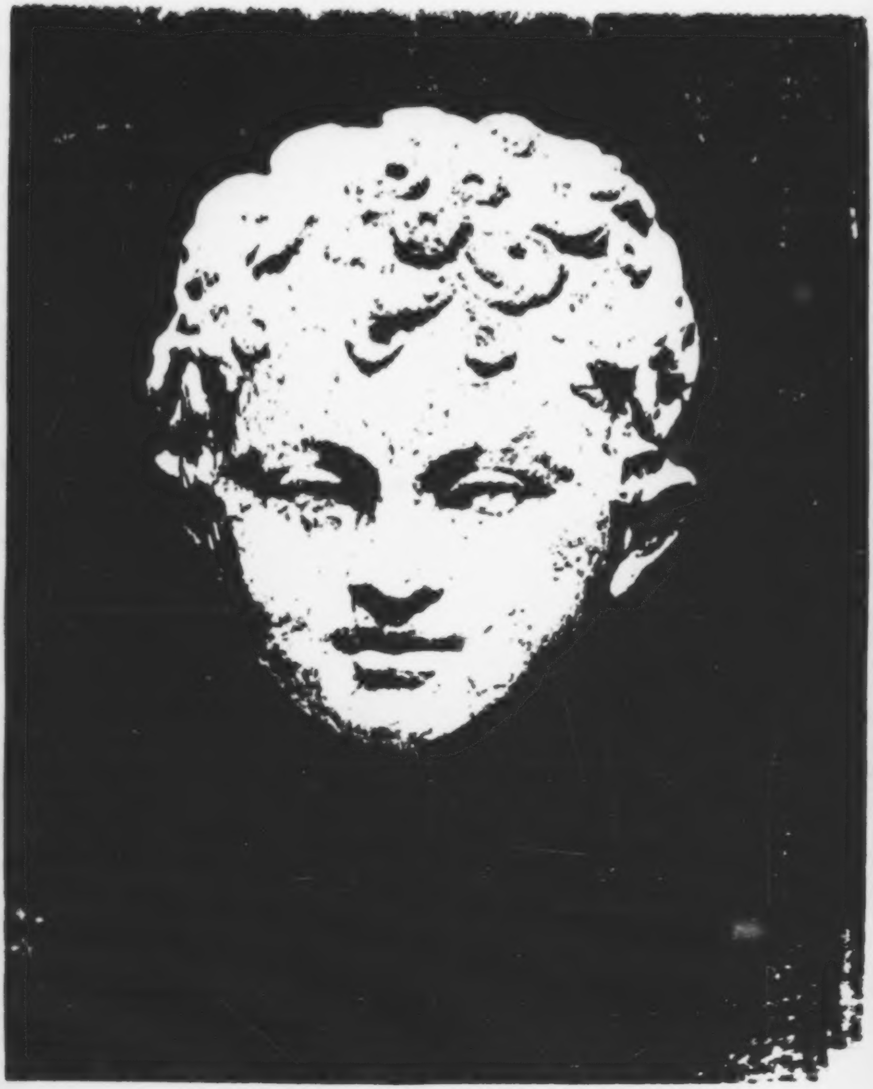

Figure 15. Roman. Head of a Boy. Princeton University, The Art Museum, 52-63. The John Maclean Magie and Gertrude Magie Fund.

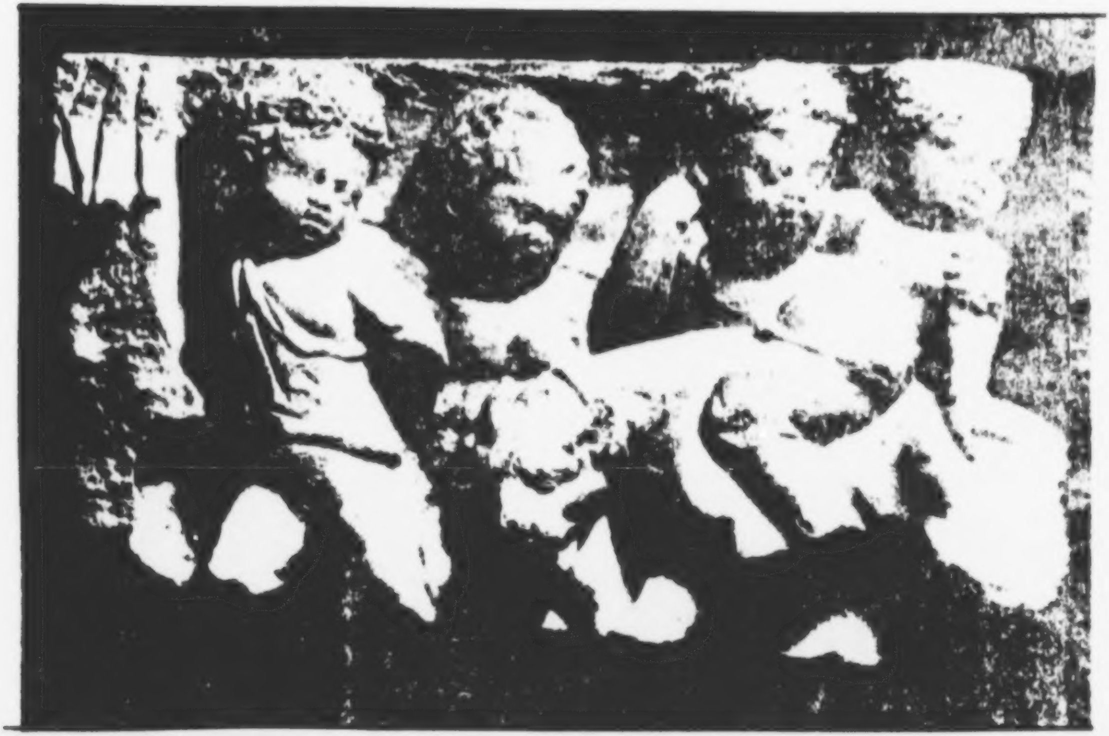

Figure 16. Roman Marble. Fragment of a Sarcophagus. Children in a Dionysian procession. Princeton University, The Art Museum, 59-55.

PART V

Program and Proceedings

Midwest History of Education Society
1982 Annual Meeting

Hosted by School of Education, Loyola University, Lewis Towers Campus, Chicago, Illinois

October 29-30, 1982

Friday, October 30, 1982

Noon - 1 p.m. Registration, Regis Room 30
Secretary, MWHES

1:30 - 3:30 p.m. First Session - Religion and Education
James Carper, Mississippi State University,
Chairperson

"'I Will Declare What He Hath Done For My Soul': Female Conversion Narratives in the Early Nineteenth Century.'"

Virginia Lieson Brereton, University of Michigan

"By the Bowels of God's Mercy: Protestant and Catholic Responses to Education Development in Cincinnati, 1830-1855."

Fr. Michael Perko, Loyola University

"Creationism vs. Evolution: Challenge to Educators."

Franklin Parker, West Virginia University

3:30 - 5:00 p.m. Second Session - The Politics of Urban Education
David Angus, University of Michigan,
Chairperson
Regis Room 30

"The Battle for the First Cleveland High School, 1846-1848."

Robert Bain, Beachwood High School/Cleveland State University

"Out of the Cloister of the Classroom: Political Activity and the Teachers of Detroit, 1929-1939"

Jeffrey Mirel, University of Michigan

5:00 - 6:00 p.m.	Business Meeting Regis Room 30
6:00 - 7:00 p.m.	Social Hour President's Room

Saturday, October 30, 1982

9:00 - 11:15 a.m.	Third Session - Issues in Minority Education David Adams, Cleveland State University, Chairperson Regis Room 30

"A History of the Social and Education Programs of the Urban League of Pittsburgh, 1918-1932."

William E. Bickel and Donald T. Martin, University of Pittsburgh

"The Educating of Minority Children: Nothing New Under the Sun?"

Timothy Reagan, University of Illinois

"Social Darwinism, Race and Research."

Frank Besag, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

11:15 a.m. - noon	Fourth Session - Concepts of Childhood Gerald Gutek, Loyola University, Chairperson Regis Room 30

"Real Children in Ancient Greek and Roman Art."

J.J. Chambliss, Rutgers University

Noon	Adjournment

Minutes: 1982 Annual Business Meeting
The Midwest History of Education Society
Loyola University of Chicago
Friday, October 29, 1982

The annual business meeting of the Midwest History of Education Society convened at 5:15 p.m. Friday 29 October, 1982 in the Regis Room at Loyola University of Chicago. The meeting was called to order by Society President David W. Adams.

Due to the expected conference call coming in from University Press of America (UPA), the reading of the minutes was dispensed with. Instead they were later approved as written in Volume 10 of the *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society*.

President Adams called on Vice President Angus to explain the purpose of the forthcoming conference call from UPA. The vice president then reported that UPA was interested in having us co-sponsor occasional papers and full-length manuscripts. The conditions would be as follows:

(1) MWHES would maintain complete editorial control over the publications;

(2) papers and MSS would be submitted to UPA in camera-ready form and the printing turn around time would average 8-10 weeks;

(3) in return for guaranteeing the sale of 85 copies MWHES would receive a varying percentage (@ 5%) of the royalties plus discounts to members purchasing copies.

Discussion ensued. The conference call came in from a UPA representative and there was a question and answer period. After the call more discussion was generated, all of which culminated in the conclusion that MWHES is not presently ready to commit itself financially to this co-sponsoring agreement with UPA.

The following slate of officers were nominated seconded and elected by acclamation for 1983:

President:	David L. Angus University of Michigan
Vice-President:	Joan K. Smith Loyola University of Chicago

Secretary: F. Michael Perko, S.J.
Loyola University of Chicago

Father Michael Perko moved that next year's officers plus the MWHES journal editor become a committee to check the various ramifications involved in entering this co-sponsorship and report back to the society next year. The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Next, Professor Edward Rutkowski reported on the good financial condition of the journal. It continues to operate without creating a deficit.

Father Perko moved that the society thank our editor, Edward Rutkowski for a fine looking journal that manages to operate in the black.

President Adams thanked Vice President and Program Chair David Angus and the program participants for a quality program and a nice-looking program brochure. Professor Angus then reported that only thirteen papers had been submitted — nine of which had been accepted for the program. Last year the number of submissions was nineteen and this was down from the previous (1980) year. Concern for this trend was expressed along with concern for what appears to be a declining attendance rate. There followed a discussion regarding what to do about these declines. It was noted that attendance at society meetings in general is down due to travel funding. As for paper submissions it was suggested that next year's program chair send the call out earlier. It was also suggested that the call for papers be advertised in other newsletters or journals of other societies such as HES and AESA.

On behalf of members of the society, President Adams expressed appreciation to Loyola especially Dean Gutek, Kay Smith and the graduate students for hosting the 1982 meeting.

There are discussion about inviting HES to meet jointly with us at our 1984 conference. Vice President Angus said that he would write to the President of HES extending the invitation.

Timothy Reagan, Managing Editor of *Educational Theory*, proposed that we become one of the journals to sustain members. The proposal was adopted. A collection was taken up and given to Dr. Reagan.

The meeting adjourned at 5:55 p.m.

MIDWEST HISTORY OF EDUCATION SOCIETY
1982 MEETING
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